

EXHIBIT C

February 10, 2024

Expert Report of Dr. Julia Sass Rubin

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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

I have been asked to provide an opinion as to the impact of the county line primary ballot on election outcomes.¹ As discussed below, my opinion in this matter is based on an analysis of historical primary endorsements, election results, and ballots analyzed in my capacity as an expert in public policy and New Jersey county line primary ballots. My opinion and observations are provided from that perspective and are not intended to provide a legal conclusion but, rather, to provide the Court with facts and context for the ultimate legal determination that it must make. My hourly rate for services provided in connection with this matter is \$400 per hour. The fee in this matter is not contingent upon any particular conclusion or result.

QUALIFICATIONS

This study draws on my expertise in political and policy analysis and my research about New Jersey primary ballots. I am an Associate Dean of Academic Programs, Director of the Public Policy Program and an Associate Professor at the Edward J. Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, where I have been a faculty member for more than twenty years.

I received my AB with honors from Harvard-Radcliffe College in 1984, an MBA with distinction from Harvard University in 1990, an MA in Sociology from Harvard University in 1997, and a PhD in organizational behavior from Harvard University in 2002. In 2003, I completed a one-year postdoctoral fellowship in public policy at Brown University and have been employed as a professor of public policy at Rutgers since that time. I am the author of numerous social science academic journal articles, including articles about county line primary ballots, and an edited volume published by the Russell Sage Foundation. In the course of my research about the county line, I have reviewed tens of thousands of ballots across various counties, parties, and election cycles, as well as ballot designs in all fifty states and the District of Columbia. I have enclosed an updated CV in Appendix B to this report.

EVIDENCE, METHODOLOGY, AND SUMMARY OF OPINIONS

This report and analysis draw upon standard sources in historical and social scientific analysis. These include scholarly articles and reports; newspaper and other journalistic articles; government and organizational documents; election results; and primary election ballots. The election results are from the New Jersey Division of Elections website.² County party organizational endorsements were determined by comparing candidate slogans, reviewing news accounts about the contests and, for more recent elections, reviewing visuals of the primary ballots.

¹ County line primary ballots, which are used by both the Democratic and Republican parties in nineteen of New Jersey's twenty-one counties, are organized around a group of candidates endorsed by some element of the county party organizational leadership, which I will refer to as the "party organizations." These groups of party organization-endorsed candidates are referred to as the "county line," "party line," or "organization line" because they are presented on the ballot as a vertical or horizontal line of names, usually with a candidate included for every position on the ballot in that election cycle.

² See New Jersey Voter Information Portal, Department of State, Division of Elections
<https://www.state.nj.us/state/elections/election-information-results.shtml>.

My major findings regarding the impact of the county line on primary ballots are summarized below:

Substantial Electoral Benefit Overall

- **New Jersey's unique county line primary ballots, used in 19 of the state's 21 counties, provide a substantial electoral benefit to candidates who appear on the county line.**

Substantial Advantage in U.S. House and Senate Races, 2002-2022

- **Placement on the county line provides a substantial advantage for candidates in US House and Senate primaries.** Between 2002 and 2022, forty-five congressional and senatorial candidates appeared on the county line in at least one county and had at least one opponent on the county line in a different county. Each of the forty-five candidates performed substantially better when they were on the county line than when their opponent was on the county line. The margin in performance for those forty-five candidates between being on the county line and having their opponent on the county line ranged from 13 to 79 percentage points, with a median of 36 percentage points and a mean of 38 percentage points.
- **Placement on the county line provides a substantial advantage for incumbents.** Three of the forty-five US House and Senate candidates were incumbents: Senator Frank Lautenberg, who split county endorsements with Congressman Rob Andrews in the 2008 Democratic senatorial primary, and Congressmen Bill Pascrell and Steven Rothman, who split endorsements with each other in the 2012 Democratic primary for the Ninth Congressional District. In each of these federal primaries, being on the county line provided a greater advantage than incumbency. Of the 21 counties that used a county line primary ballot in these two federal elections, the candidate on the county line won 100% of the time.

Substantial Advantage in State Legislative Races, 2003-2023

- **Placement on the county line provides a substantial advantage for state legislative candidates.** Over the last twenty years, only 3 of the 209 (1.4%) incumbent legislators in competitive primaries who ran on the county line in all the counties in their districts lost their primaries. Those three incumbents each lost in just one county-line county and all three races were very close.
- **No incumbent New Jersey state legislator running on the county line in all the counties in their district has lost a primary over the last 14 years even as 1,145 incumbents lost primaries in the rest of the country during that time.**
- **Not only is it almost impossible for incumbents to lose when running on the county line, it is also very difficult to win when running off the county line.** In fact, the county line appears to be more important than incumbency for winning a primary election. Over the last twenty years, 19 incumbent state legislators lost the county line in at least one county in their district. Ten of those 19 (52.6%) lost their primaries.

- The loss rate for incumbents running off the county line (52.6%) during those twenty years is nearly 38 times greater than the loss rate for incumbents running on the county line (1.4%).
- Only two legislative incumbents running off the county line in all the counties in their district have won their primaries in the last twenty years. Each of those two contests was decided in a single county and the results were very close. **No incumbent legislator running off the county line in all the counties in their district has won a primary in the last 16 years.**

Endorsements

- Between 2012 and 2022, there were 37 primary contests for New Jersey Governor, U.S. Senate, and U.S. House of Representatives in which a candidate was endorsed by county party organizations both in counties that used a county line ballot and in counties that did not. **In 35 of those 37 contents, candidates received a larger share of the vote when they were on the county line than when they were endorsed but there was no county line. The difference in the candidate's performance ranged from -7 to 45 percentage points, with a mean of 12 percentage points and a median of 11 percentage points. The difference was even larger for non-incumbent candidates, with a mean of 17 percentage points and a median of 15 percentage points.**
- The 2020 Republican primary for the U.S. Senate provides a particularly data-rich example. It included five candidates, two of whom split the county endorsements between them. Rik Mehta receiving sixteen county endorsements and Hirsh Singh receiving four. **Mehta was endorsed by five counties that did not use a county line ballot that year but did endorse candidates. He received an average 35% of the total vote in those five counties versus 51% when he was on the county line. Mehta also lost in three of the five counties in which he was endorsed but the ballot was not structured around a county line, in contrast to winning every county in which he was on the county line.** The elections in the five counties that did not use a county line ballot were also much closer than in the fifteen counties that used county line ballots, with a mean margin of victory of 7.8 percentage points versus 35.1 percentage points.

This analysis proceeds as follows: The first section describes the county line ballot and the mechanisms through which it may affect voting behavior. The second section examines the impact of the county line ballot on federal elections. The third section examines the impact of the county line ballot on state legislative elections. The fourth section compares the performance of candidates endorsed by a county party when that county uses a county line primary ballot versus when it does not.

I. NEW JERSEY'S UNIQUE PRIMARY BALLOT

New Jersey's county line primary ballots are very different from primary ballots in other states.³ Outside of New Jersey, primary ballots are organized by the electoral position being sought, such as Senator or Governor. Most states list candidates beneath the position they are seeking (see Elko, Nevada ballot in Figure 1). In a few states, candidates appear to the right of the position they are seeking (see Sussex County, Delaware ballot in Figure 1). These ballot designs make it relatively easy for voters to identify which candidates are running for each electoral position.

Figure 1: Elko County, NV 2018 Democratic primary ballot (left) and Sussex County, DE 2018 Democratic primary ballot (right)

| | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|
| FEDERAL PARTISAN OFFICES | | STATEWIDE PARTISAN OFFICES | |
| UNITED STATES SENATOR Six (6) Year Term VOTE FOR ONE | | GOVERNOR Four (4) Year Term VOTE FOR ONE | |
| BURLEIGH, DANNY | <input type="radio"/> | BONAVENTURA, JOHN | <input type="radio"/> |
| KNIGHT, DAVID DREW | <input type="radio"/> | DEWAN, ASHEESH | <input type="radio"/> |
| MAHENDRA, SUJEET "BOBBY" | <input type="radio"/> | GIUNCHIGLIANI, CHRISTINA "CHRIS G" | <input type="radio"/> |
| RHEINHART, ALLEN | <input type="radio"/> | JONES, DAVID E. | <input type="radio"/> |
| ROSEN, JACKY | <input type="radio"/> | SISOLAK, STEVE | <input type="radio"/> |
| SBAIH, JESSE | <input type="radio"/> | THORNS, HENRY | <input type="radio"/> |
| NONE OF THESE CANDIDATES | <input type="radio"/> | NONE OF THESE CANDIDATES | <input type="radio"/> |
| UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS, DISTRICT 2 Two (2) Year Term VOTE FOR ONE | | LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR Four (4) Year Term VOTE FOR ONE | |
| ALM, VANCE | <input type="radio"/> | HANSEN, LAURIE L. | <input type="radio"/> |
| FOGARTY, PATRICK | <input type="radio"/> | MARSHALL, KATE | <input type="radio"/> |
| HURLEY, JESSE DOUGLAS | <input type="radio"/> | NONE OF THESE CANDIDATES | <input type="radio"/> |
| KOBLE, CLINT | <input type="radio"/> | | |
| SCHOFIELD JR., JACK L. | <input type="radio"/> | | |
| SHEPHERD, RICK | <input type="radio"/> | | |
| | | | |
| | | ATTORNEY GENERAL Four (4) Year Term VOTE FOR ONE | |
| | | FORD, AARON | <input type="radio"/> |
| | | MACKIE, STUART J. | <input type="radio"/> |
| | | NONE OF THESE CANDIDATES | <input type="radio"/> |
|  DEMOCRATIC PARTY | | | |
| FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR VOTE FOR ONE (1) | | THOMAS R. CAPER <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | KERRI EVELYN HARRIS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | KATHLEEN JENNINGS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | CHRISTOFER JOHNSON <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | TIMOTHY P. MULLANEY, SR. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | LAKRESHA ROBERTS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | |
| FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL VOTE FOR ONE (1) | | KATHLEEN ANN DAVIES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | KATHLEEN K. MCGUINESS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | |
| | | DENNIS E. WILLIAMS <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | |

By contrast, county line primary ballots, which are used by both the Democratic and Republican parties in nineteen of New Jersey's twenty-one counties, are organized around a group of candidates endorsed by some element of the county party organizational leadership, which I will refer to in this paper as the "party organizations."⁴ These groups of party organization-endorsed

³ See Julia Sass Rubin., *Toeing the Line: New Jersey Primary Ballots Enable Party Insiders to Pick Winners*, NJ Policy Perspective. (June 29, 2020), <https://www.njpp.org/publications/report/toeing-the-line-new-jersey-primary-ballots-enable-party-insiders-to-pick-winners/>

⁴ The endorsement process varies substantially by county and between election cycles. "In some counties, the party endorsement

candidates are referred to as the “county line,” “party line,” or “organization line” because they are presented on the ballot as a vertical or horizontal line of names, usually with a candidate included for every position on the ballot in that election cycle.

Figure 2 shows a 2021 New Jersey Republican primary ballot from Essex County. The seven county line candidates are in row E. The remaining nine candidates are scattered across the other three, mostly empty, rows. There is no obvious logic as to why each of the non-endorsed candidates is in a particular row. Row F includes a candidate for Governor. Row G includes another candidate for Governor separated by a blank column from two candidates for the State Assembly. Row H includes a fourth candidate for Governor separated by two blank columns from a candidate for the State Assembly, a candidate for County Sheriff, and two candidates for County Commissioner.

Figure 2: Essex County 2021 Republican primary ballot

| Offices Cargos | For Governor Four Year Term Vote for One Para Gobernador Término de Cuatro Años Vote por Uno | For Member of the State Senate 26th Legis. Dist. Two Year Term Vote for One Para Miembro del Senado Estatal Dist. Legis. 26 Término de Dos Años Vote por Uno | For Members of the General Assembly 26th Legislative District Two Year Term Vote for Two Para Miembros de la Asamblea General Distrito Legislativo 26 Término de Dos Años Vote por Dos | For Sheriff Three Year Term Vote for One Para Alguacil Término de Tres Años Vote por Uno | For State Committee Four Year Term Vote for Two Para Comité Estatal Término de Cuatro Años Vote por Dos | For Mayor Three Year Term Vote for One Para Alcalde Término de Tres Años Vote por Uno | |
|--|--|--|--|--|---|---|---|
|  E | Jack CIATTARELLI <small>Essex Republican Party Organization, Inc.</small> 1E <input type="radio"/> | Joe PENNACCHIO <small>Essex Republican Party Organization, Inc.</small> 2E <input type="radio"/> | Bettylou DeCROCE <small>Essex Republican Party Organization, Inc.</small> 3E <input type="radio"/> | Nicholas G. PANSINI <small>Essex Republican Party Organization, Inc.</small> 5E <input type="radio"/> | Peter TANELLA <small>Essex Republican Party Organization, Inc.</small> 6E <input type="radio"/> | Janet TREAMONT <small>Essex Republican Party Organization, Inc.</small> 7E <input type="radio"/> | James GASPARINI <small>Essex Republican Party Organization, Inc.</small> 8E <input type="radio"/> |
|  F | Brian D. LEVINE <small>Essex County Republican Party Committee</small> 1F <input type="radio"/> | | | | | | |
|  G | Philip RIZZO <small>Republicans for Conservative Values</small> 1G <input type="radio"/> | | Jay WEBBER <small>Republicans for Conservative Values</small> 3G <input type="radio"/> | Christian E. BARRANCO <small>Republicans for Conservative Values</small> 4G <input type="radio"/> | | | |
|  H | Hirsh V. SINGH 1H <input type="radio"/> | | | Thomas MASTRANGELO 4H <input type="radio"/> | Maureen EDELSON 5H <input type="radio"/> | Michael D. BYRNE 6H <input type="radio"/> | Sue Ann PENNA 7H <input type="radio"/> |

This ballot design provides multiple advantages for candidates who appear on the county line.

process includes a vote by county committee members. Municipal party committees, made up of the county committee members in each municipality, decide on endorsements for mayor and city council. The entire county committee meets at county nominating conventions to determine county-wide endorsements (e.g., county elected positions, state legislature, congress, governor, and president). In other counties, the endorsement decisions are made solely by the county party chair, sometimes after consultation with the chairs of the municipal party committees in that county. Even in counties that hold county nominating conventions at which all county committee members vote, the county party chairs may be able to influence the endorsement process by stating their preferences, or by pressuring local party officials to endorse specific candidates and to ensure that their local committee members vote accordingly.” See pages 61-64 of Julia Sass Rubin (2023) “The Impact of New Jersey’s County Line Primary Ballots on Election Outcomes, Politics, and Policy,” *Seton Hall Journal of Legislation and Public Policy*: 48 (1), Article 3. <https://scholarship.shu.edu/shlj/vol48/iss1/3>

First, the county line is easy for voters to find on the ballot. The inclusion of candidates for all or nearly all contests makes it visually distinct. It also usually has prime ballot position, in the first or second column or row.

Candidates on the county line are further advantaged by the placement of candidates for the highest position on the ballot that cycle at the head of the line—such as Jack Ciattarelli in the Essex example. While voters may not know the names of candidates running for county commissioner or county clerk, they generally know the leading candidates for President, Governor, or U.S. Senator. These better-known candidates lend familiarity and legitimacy to the other candidates on the county line.

Candidates not on the county line appear in different columns or rows and are often separated from the county line by additional blank columns or rows, such as the two rows between Nicholas Pancini, the county line candidate for Sheriff on the Essex ballot, and his challenger Maureen Edelson. In extreme examples, candidates on the county line are separated from their challengers by many columns or rows. For example, on the 2018 Camden County Democratic primary ballot shown in Figure 3, Donald Norcross, the county line candidate for U.S. House of Representatives, is separated from his challengers by six blank columns. This can make the non-county line candidates more difficult for voters to find on the ballot, a placement that has colloquially come to be known as “ballot Siberia.”

Figure 3: Camden County 2018 Democratic primary ballot

| DEMOCRAT BALLOT PAPELTA DEMÓCRATA | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|--|---|
| OFFICE TITLE TÍTULO DE OFICINA | COLUMN 1 COLUMNA 1 | COLUMN 2 COLUMNA 2 | COLUMN 3 COLUMNA 3 | COLUMN 4 COLUMNA 4 | COLUMN 5 COLUMNA 5 | COLUMN 6 COLUMNA 6 | COLUMN 7 COLUMNA 7 | COLUMN 8 COLUMNA 8 | COLUMN 9 COLUMNA 9 |
| United States Senator <i>(vote for One)</i> | Senado de los Estados Unidos <i>(Vote Por Uno)</i> | Democrats for Change Lisa A. MC CORMICK | Camden County Democratic Committee, Inc. Robert MENENDEZ | | | | | | |
| Member of the House of Representatives <i>(vote for One)</i> | Miembro de Casa de Representantes <i>(Vote Por Uno)</i> | | Camden County Democratic Committee, Inc. Donald W. NORCROSS | | | | | | To Unite Scott John TOMASZEWSKI |
| Sheriff <i>(vote for One)</i> | Oficina del Alguacil <i>(Vote Por Uno)</i> | | Camden County Democratic Committee, Inc. Gilbert L. "Whip" WILSON | | | | | | Democrats for Change Robert Lee CARLSON |
| Members of the Board of Chosen Freeholders <i>(vote for Three)</i> | Miembros de la Junta de Legislatores del Condado <i>(Vote Por Tres)</i> | Camden County Democratic Committee, Inc. Jeffrey L. NASH | Return the Democratic Party Today Martha L. CANAS | Run Progressives for a Better Tomorrow Kathleen A. KUNYCKZA | Make Tomorrow a Better Place Alec's DE LUCA | True Middle Class Advocates James COYLE | Purple Politics Chris KEHNER | Life is Better in Camden County Michael LEONETTI | |
| | | Camden County Democratic Committee, Inc. Susan SHIN ANGULO | Return the Democratic Party Today Mary Ann DUNN | Run Progressives for a Better Tomorrow Robert J. STRONG | Make Tomorrow a Better Place Patricia GRIFFIS | True Middle Class Advocates Jeanne ROSSELL | Purple Politics Ralph T. GORGO, JR. | | |
| | | Camden County Democratic Committee, Inc. William F. MOEN, JR. | | | | | | | |

Candidates not on the county line also may be stacked in the same column or row with their opponents. For example, on the 2018 Camden County Democratic primary ballot, two candidates running against each other for the U.S. House of Representative both appear in column 9.

Designing primary ballots in this way creates murky contest boundaries that make it difficult for voters to determine which candidates are running for each office.⁵ This results in voters not realizing that some positions are contested, benefiting the candidates on the county line, who are easier to locate on the ballot. By confusing voters, county line ballots also encourage overvotes and undervotes. The 2020 primary election provided examples of both outcomes.

The Mercer County Democratic primary ballot shown in Figure 4, listed two of the three candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives Fourth Congressional District stacked one below the other in column A, which is the county line. The third candidate appeared in column B.⁶

Figure 4: Mercer County 2020 Democratic primary ballot

| OFFICE TITLE | Column A Democratic | Column B Democratic | Column C Democratic | Column D Democratic |
|---|---|---|---|--|
| U.S. President 4 Year Term - Vote for One | Regular Democratic Organization Joseph R. BIDEN 1A | | Bernie 2020: Not Me. Us. Bernie SANDERS 1C | A VOTE HERE IS A VOTE FOR ALL UNCOMMITTED DELEGATES BELOW 1D |
| 8th District Delegates to Democratic National Convention | A VOTE ABOVE IS A VOTE FOR ALL DELEGATES JOSEPH R. BIDEN Biden For President Linda GREENSTEIN Cathleen LEWIS Sharon SHINKLE Bruce STERN Kevin GAIGES | | A VOTE ABOVE IS A VOTE FOR ALL DELEGATES BERNIE SANDERS Bernie 2020, Not Me. Us. Rene BANERJEE Lizette DELGADO Francesca EHRET Brady RUBERA Neeranika THURAVIL | A VOTE ABOVE IS A VOTE FOR ALL UNCOMMITTED DELEGATES UNCOMMITTED Joseph WOLFGANG |
| U.S. Senate 6 Year Term - Vote for One | Regular Democratic Organization Cory BOOKER 2A | Not Me. Us. Lawrence HAMM 2B | | |
| U.S. House of Representatives 2 Year Term - Vote for One | Regular Democratic Organization Christine CONFORTI 3A Mercer County Democrats Stephanie SCHMID 4A | Fairness in Healthcare, Schools, Local Businesses David APPLEFIELD 3B | | |
| Sheriff 3 Year Term - Vote for One | Regular Democratic Organization John A. "Jack" KEMLER 5A | | | |
| County Clerk 5 Year Term - Vote for One | Regular Democratic Organization Paula SOLLAMI COVELLO 6A | | | |
| Board of Chosen Freeholders 3 Year Term - Vote for Two | Regular Democratic Organization Lucille RS WALTER 7A | | | |
| Council 1 Year Unexpired Term - Vote for One | Regular Democratic Organization John A. CIMINO 8A | | | |
| County Committee 2 Year Term - Vote for Two | Regular Democratic Organization Charles F. WHALEN 9A | | | |

New Jersey primary voters are encouraged by the county parties, and conditioned by years of

⁵ See Andrea Córdova McCadney, Lawrence Norden, & Whitney Quesenberry, *Common Ballot Design Flaws and How to Fix Them*, (February 3, 2020), Brennan Center. <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/common-ballot-design-flaws-and-how-fix-them>.

⁶ Article VII of Mercer County Democratic Committee Constitution and Bylaws states that “Any candidate failing to be endorsed shall have the option of choosing to run in the same column as the endorsed candidate(s) but without the party slogan only if the unendorsed candidate received at least forty percent (40%) of the vote of the registered delegates in any ballot in which a candidate received the endorsement of the Convention.” See Mercer County Democratic Committee Constitution and Bylaws (2022), https://www.mercerdemocrats.com/_files/ugd/f6fae7_3f3c588f8c354170aca934a23017a381.pdf.

practice, to vote for all the candidates on the county line. In this case, placing Christine Conforti and Stephanie Schmid on the same county line column encouraged voters to vote for both even though the ballot instructed them to vote for only one candidate. This ballot design resulted in a 32.4% overvote in the 4th Congressional District primary, leading to all the overvotes being discarded.

In contrast, the Atlantic County Democratic primary ballot shown in Figure 5 resulted in substantial undervotes, with the number of Democratic votes cast for the U.S. Senate totaling only 80.6% of the total votes cast for President and only 82% of the total votes cast for the U.S. House of Representatives. In every other county, the total votes for U.S. Senate exceeded the number cast for the U.S. House of Representatives and equaled at least 98.2% of the total votes cast for President.

The undervotes in the Atlantic County example most likely reflect the lack of a Senate candidate on the county line in column A. Cory Booker, the incumbent senator running for reelection, was endorsed by all the county parties but chose not to run on the line in Atlantic County. Instead, Booker appeared on the primary ballot in column C, to bracket with Brigid Callahan Harrison, who was running for the U.S. House of Representatives and did not receive the Atlantic County party's endorsement.

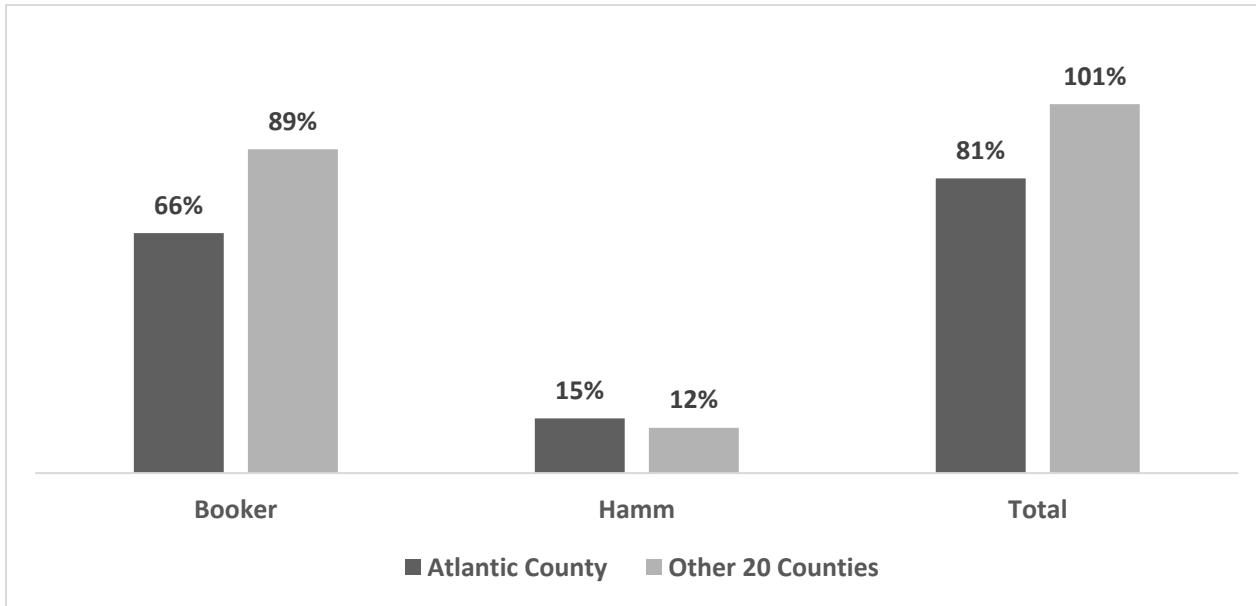
Figure 5: Atlantic County 2020 Democratic primary ballot

| OFFICE TITLE | Column A Democratic | Column B Democratic | Column C Democratic | Column D Democratic | Column E Democratic | Column F Democratic |
|--|--|--|--|---|---|--|
| Choice for President VOTE FOR ONE | Atlantic County Democratic Committee Joseph R. BIDEN 0 | Atlantic County Democratic Committee Bernie SANDERS 0 | Atlantic County Democratic Committee Joyce MOLLINEAUX 0 | | | |
| 2nd District Delegates to Democratic National Convention | A VOTE ABOVE IS A VOTE FOR ALL DELEGATES JOSEPH R. BIDEN Atlantic County Democratic Committee Michael SULEMAN Philip HUFFORD | A VOTE ABOVE IS A VOTE FOR ALL DELEGATES BERNIE SANDERS Senate 2020, Not Rep. Rep. | | A VOTE ABOVE IS A VOTE FOR ALL DELEGATES Brigid CALLAHAN HARRISON Lawrence HAMM 0 | Joyce MOLLINEAUX | |
| U.S. Senator VOTE FOR ONE | | Atlantic County Democratic Committee Amy KENNEDY 0 | Atlantic County Regular Democrats City Lawrence HAMM 0 | Atlantic County Regular Democrats City Cory BOOKER 0 | | |
| House of Representatives VOTE FOR ONE | Atlantic County Democratic Committee | | Atlantic County Regular Democrats City Brigid CALLAHAN HARRISON 0 | Freeholders Will CUNNINGHAM 0 | Atlantic County House of Delegates Robert D. TURKAVAGE 0 | Atlantic County House of Delegates John FRANCIS 0 |
| Sheriff VOTE FOR ONE | Atlantic County Democratic Committee Eric SCHEFFLER 0 | | | | | |
| Surrogate VOTE FOR ONE | Atlantic County Democratic Committee Stephen DICT 0 | | Atlantic County Regular Democrats City Levi FOX 0 | | | |
| Freeholder-at-Large VOTE FOR TWO | Atlantic County Democratic Committee Caren FITZPATRICK 0 | | | | | |
| | Atlantic County Democratic Committee Celeste FERNANDEZ 0 | | | | | |

The decline in total votes for US Senate appear to have come from voters who would have supported Cory Booker if he had appeared on the county line. The number of votes that Booker received equaled only 66% of the total votes cast for President in Atlantic County. This is much lower than the 89% of votes cast for President that Booker received in the rest of the state or the

86% that he received in the next lowest county. Booker's opponent Larry Hamm did not experience a similar decline in support in Atlantic County, receiving a number of votes that equaled 15% of the total presidential vote in Atlantic County versus 12% of the total presidential vote that Hamm earned statewide.

Figure 6: Votes for US Senate as % of total votes for President, 2020 Democratic primary



Why did nearly twenty percent of the Democratic voters in this primary leave the U.S. Senate position on their ballots blank? Conditioned to vote the county line, they may have believed that they had fully completed the ballot by voting for everyone on the county line; been reluctant to vote for candidates not on the county line; or not even realized that they could vote for candidates running both on and off the county line.

Appendix A include additional examples of county line primary ballots on which candidates running against each other are stacked in the same column or row; ballots in which candidates running off the county line appear in ballot Siberia - multiple blank spaces apart from their competitors; and other ballot designs that create voter confusion.

To evaluate the impact of the county line primary ballot on election outcomes, I examined twenty years of New Jersey election outcomes for the U.S. House and Senate and for the state legislature.

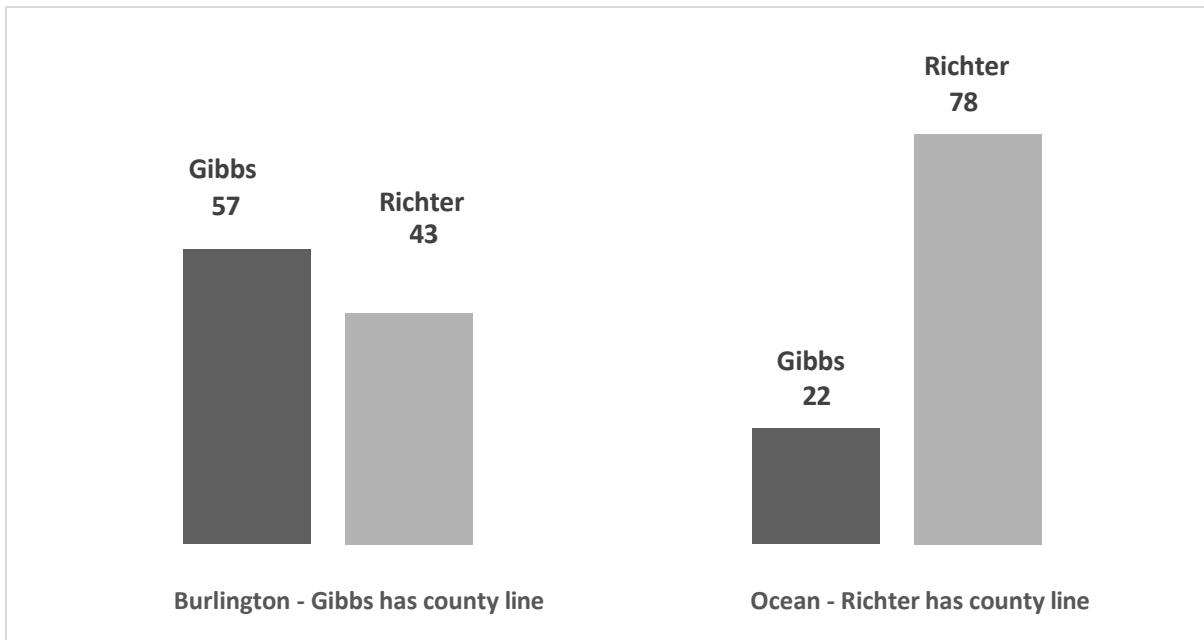
II. Impact of the County Line Primary Ballot on U.S. House and Senate Elections

U.S. House and Senate elections in New Jersey provide an opportunity to quantify the impact of the county line on primary election outcomes. A subset of federal primary elections includes contests in which political parties in different counties endorsed different primary candidates.

For example, in the 2020 primary, two candidates split the Republican party endorsements in the two counties that made up the Third Congressional District. Kate Gibbs was endorsed and given the line by the Burlington County Republican party and David Richter was endorsed and given the line by the Ocean County Republican party. Gibbs received 57 percent of the vote when she was

on the county line in Burlington and 22 percent when she was not on the county line in Ocean. Richter received 78 percent of the vote when he was on the county line in Ocean and 43 percent when he was not on the county line in Burlington. The difference in how Gibbs and Richter performed when they were on the county line versus when their opponent was on the county line was 35 percentage points.

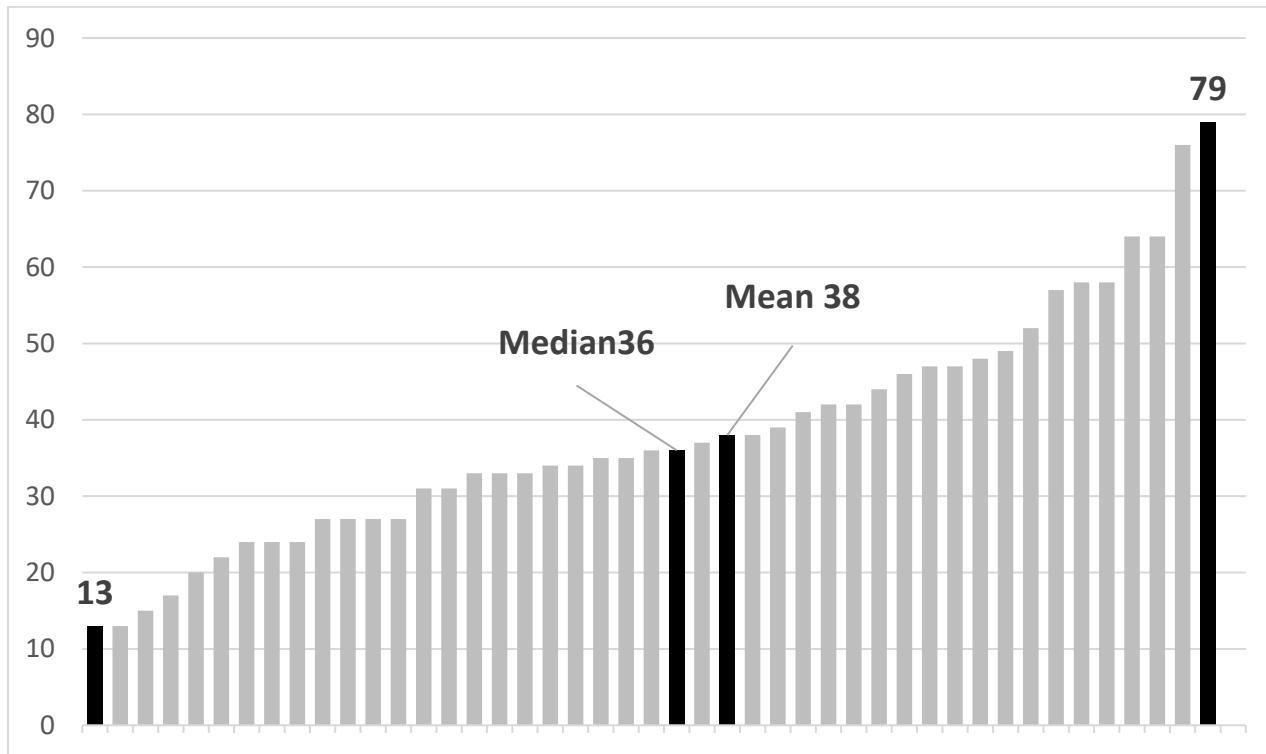
Figure 7: New Jersey 3rd Congressional District 2020 Republican primary



Between 2002 and 2022, forty-five candidates for the US House and Senate appeared on the county line in at least one county and had at least one opponent on the county line in a different county.⁷ Each of the forty-five candidates performed substantially better when they were on the county line than when their opponent was on the county line. The margin in performance for those forty-five candidates between being on the county line and having their opponent on the county line ranged from 13 to 79 percentage points, with a median of 36 and a mean of 38 percentage points.

⁷ For contests with more than two counties, a candidate's percentage of the total vote was averaged for all the counties in which that candidate was on the county line versus their percentage of the total vote for all the counties in which one of their opponents was on the county line. Counties that did not use a county line ballot in that election contest were excluded from the averages.

Figure 8: Performance of candidates in split endorsement primaries, on vs. off county line, 2002-22



Three of those forty-five candidates were incumbents: Senator Frank Lautenberg and Congressmen Bill Pascrell and Steven Rothman. Lautenberg split county endorsements with Congressman Rob Andrews in the 2008 Democratic senatorial primary, and Congressmen Bill Pascrell and Steven Rothman split endorsements with each other in the 2012 Democratic primary for the Ninth Congressional District.⁸

Figure 9: Impact of split county endorsements for U.S. House & Senate, 2002-22

| | Year | Candidate | Margin | Contest/Party | Incumbent |
|---|------|-------------------|--------|-------------------|-----------|
| 1 | 2002 | Diane Allen | +31 | Senate/Republican | No |
| 2 | 2002 | Douglas Forrester | +44 | Senate/Republican | No |
| 3 | 2002 | John Matheussen | +31 | Senate/Republican | No |
| 4 | 2006 | Albio Sires | +47 | CD13/ Democrat | No |
| 5 | 2006 | Joseph Vas | +47 | CD13/ Democrat | No |
| 6 | 2008 | John Kelly | +34 | CD3/ Republican | No |
| 7 | 2008 | Chris Myers | +46 | CD3/ Republican | No |

⁸ Pascrell and Rothman competed against each other after New Jersey lost a Congressional District following the 2010 census. Prior to redistricting, Rothman represented the 9th CD (Bergen, Hudson, and part of Passaic County), while Pascrell represented the 8th CD (Passaic and Essex counties). Post redistricting, parts of both of their former districts ended up in the new 9th CD, which consisted of Bergen, Hudson, and Passaic counties. Rothman and Pascrell split county endorsements. Rothman received the county line in Bergen and Hudson and Pascrell, who had represented a much larger portion of Passaic than Rothman, received the county line in Passaic.

| | | | | | |
|----|------|--------------------------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|
| 8 | 2008 | Leonard Lance | +42 | CD7/Republican | No |
| 9 | 2008 | P. Kelly Hatfield | +39 | CD7/Republican | No |
| 10 | 2008 | Kate Whitman | +27 | CD7/Republican | No |
| 11 | 2008 | Joseph Pennacchio | +27 | Senate/Republican | No |
| 12 | 2008 | Murray Sabrin | +13 | Senate/Republican | No |
| 13 | 2008 | Dick Zimmer | +27 | Senate/Republican | No |
| 14 | 2008 | Robert Andrews | +36 | Senate/Democrat | No |
| 15 | 2008 | Frank Lautenberg | +33 | Senate/Democrat | Yes |
| 16 | 2012 | Viola Hughes | +79 | CD 2/Democrat | No |
| 17 | 2012 | Cassandra Shober | +76 | CD 2/Democrat | No |
| 18 | 2012 | Ernesto Cullari | +24 | CD 6/Republican | No |
| 19 | 2012 | Anna Little | +24 | CD 6/Republican | No |
| 20 | 2012 | Bill Pascrell | +64 | CD 9/Democrat | Yes, redistricted |
| 21 | 2012 | Steve Rothman | +64 | CD 9/Democrat | Yes, redistricted |
| 22 | 2012 | Nia Gill | +36 | CD 10/Democrat | No |
| 23 | 2012 | Donald Payne, Jr. | +22 | CD 10/Democrat | No |
| 24 | 2014 | Upendra Chivukula | +52 | CD 12/Democrat | No |
| 25 | 2014 | Linda Greenstein | +48 | CD 12/Democrat | No |
| 26 | 2014 | Bonnie Watson Coleman | +57 | CD 12/Democrat | No |
| 27 | 2014 | Brian Goldberg | +27 | Senate/Republican | No |
| 28 | 2014 | Richard Pezzullo | +33 | Senate/Republican | No |
| 29 | 2014 | Murray Sabrin | +15 | Senate/Republican | No |
| 30 | 2016 | Jim Keady | +58 | CD 3/Democrat | No |
| 31 | 2016 | Frederick John LaVergne | +58 | CD 3/Democrat | No |
| 32 | 2018 | Samuel Fiocchi | +34 | CD 2/Republican | No |
| 33 | 2018 | Hirsh Singh | +37 | CD 2/Republican | No |
| 34 | 2020 | Brigid Callahan Harrison | +20 | CD 2/Democrat | No |
| 35 | 2020 | Amy Kennedy | +24 | CD 2/Democrat | No |
| 36 | 2020 | Christine Conforti | +38 | CD 4/Democrat | No |
| 37 | 2020 | Stephanie Schmid | +41 | CD 4/Democrat | No |
| 38 | 2020 | Kate Gibbs | +35 | CD 3/Democrat | No |
| 39 | 2020 | David Richter | +35 | CD 3/Democrat | No |
| 40 | 2020 | Rik Mehta | +42 | Senate/Republican | No |
| 41 | 2020 | Hirsh Singh | +49 | Senate/Republican | No |
| 42 | 2022 | Frank Pallotta | +13 | CD 5/Republican | No |
| 43 | 2022 | Nick De Gregorio | +17 | CD 5/Republican | No |
| 44 | 2022 | Tayfun Selen | +33 | CD 11/Republican | No |
| 45 | 2022 | Paul DeGroot | +38 | CD 11/Republican | No |

Primary voters could be expected to have greater familiarity with congressional incumbents than with first-time candidates, which could help counter the impact of the county line. In each of the three federal primaries that included incumbents, however, being on the county line provided a

greater advantage than incumbency. As shown in Figures 10 and 11 below, Lautenberg, Pascrell, and Rothman lost every county in which their opponent was on the county line and won every county in which they were on the county line.

In both contests, the county-level margins of victory were substantial. The mean margin of victory for the eighteen counties that used a county line ballot in the Lautenberg vs Andrews vs Cresitello race was 38 percentage points (see Figure 10). For the three counties that used a county line ballot in the Pascrell vs Rothman race, the mean margin of victory was 58 percentage points (see Figure 11).

Figure 10: Percentage of total vote by candidate in 2008 Democratic primary for U.S. Senate (Vote % of candidate on county line shown in bold and shaded gray)⁹

| County | Frank Lautenberg | Robert Andrews | Donald Cresitello |
|------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Atlantic | 45% | 50% | 4% |
| Bergen | 79% | 17% | 5% |
| Burlington | 42% | 52% | 6% |
| Camden | 16% | 80% | 3% |
| Cape May | 45% | 50% | 5% |
| Cumberland | 46% | 47% | 6% |
| Essex | 76% | 21% | 3% |
| Gloucester | 17% | 80% | 3% |
| Hudson | 75% | 22% | 4% |
| Hunterdon | 59% | 34% | 8% |
| Mercer | 74% | 22% | 4% |
| Middlesex | 62% | 29% | 9% |
| Monmouth | 66% | 22% | 11% |
| Morris | 65% | 24% | 11% |
| Ocean | 58% | 33% | 9% |
| Passaic | 79% | 14% | 7% |
| Salem* | 32% | 60% | 9% |
| Somerset | 65% | 25% | 10% |
| Sussex* | 53% | 30% | 17% |
| Union | 68% | 28% | 5% |

⁹ Salem, Sussex and Warren counties did not use a county line ballot for the 2008 Democratic primary.

| | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|
| Warren* | 47% | 31% | 22% |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|

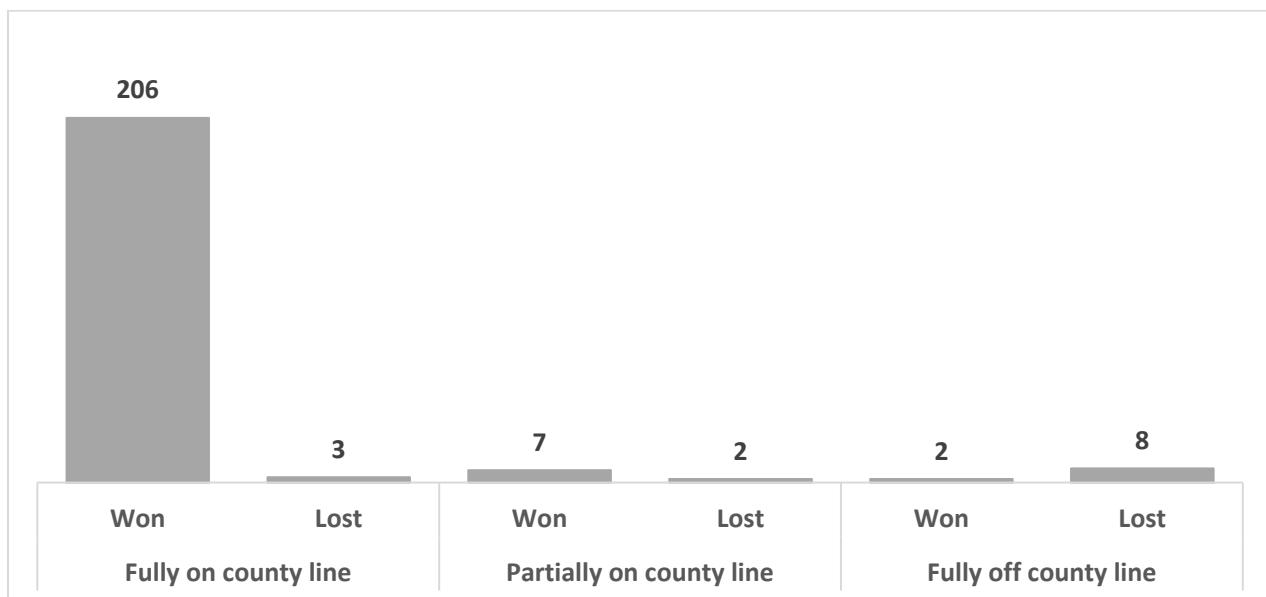
Figure 11: Percentage of total vote by candidate in 2012 Democratic primary for CD 9 (Vote % of candidate on county line shown in bold and shaded gray)

| County | Bill Pascrell | Steve Rothman |
|---------|---------------|---------------|
| Bergen | 27% | 73% |
| Hudson | 26% | 74% |
| Passaic | 90% | 10% |

III. Impact of the County Line Primary Ballot on State Legislative Elections

To understand the impact of the county line on legislative primaries, I examined legislative elections that took place between 2003 and 2023.¹⁰ Over those twenty years, 1033 incumbent NJ state legislators ran for reelection and 228 of them had a challenger.¹¹ In 209 of those 228 contested primaries, incumbents were awarded the county line in all the counties in their legislative district that used a county line primary ballot. In 19 of the 228 contested primaries, incumbents were denied the county line in at least one of the counties in their legislative district that used a county line primary ballot.

Figure 12: Election outcomes for legislative incumbents in competitive primaries (2003-2023)



¹⁰ A similar analysis was conducted in 2018 and 2019 by Francisco Diez for the Communications Workers of America. I re-collected the data for 2003 to 2019 and updated it to include the 2021 and 2023 election cycles.

¹¹ Incumbent is defined as having served in the prior term in the same capacity in at least some of the same counties. This includes incumbents whose district number changed post redistricting and those who ran against another incumbent post redistricting.

Of the 209 incumbents who ran on the county line in all the counties in their district that used a county line ballot, 206 won their renomination and three were defeated. The three legislative candidates who lost while on the county line had only one county in each of their districts that used a county line primary ballot. All three elections were very close. Doria and Perez-Cinciarelli ran together in a four-candidate race for two assembly seats and combined won 48% of the vote while their opponents won 52%. Karrow won 43% of the vote in a three-candidate contest while the winning candidate received 47%.

No legislative incumbent on the county line in all the counties in their district has lost a primary election since 2009. This fourteen-year period encompasses seven election cycles. In contrast, in the other forty-nine states, 1,145 state legislative incumbents lost primary elections over that time period.¹²

Figure 13: New Jersey incumbent legislators who lost the primary while on county line in all counties that used a county line ballot (2003–2023)

| | Year | Incumbent | Party/ District | Chamber | # of Counties in District | County | Had County Line | Won County |
|---|------|------------------------|--------------------|----------|---------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1 | 2003 | Joseph Doria | D/31 | Assembly | 1 | Hudson | Y | N |
| 2 | 2003 | Elba Perez-Cinciarelli | D/31 | Assembly | 1 | Hudson | Y | N |
| 3 | 2009 | Marcia Karrow | R/23 | Senate | 2 | Hunterdon | Y | N |
| | | | | | | Warren ¹³ | N | N |

Nine of the remaining 19 incumbents ran on the county line in at least one county in their legislative district. Of those nine, seven won and two lost their primaries. For example, Robert Auth and Deanne DeFuccio lost the county line in Passaic in their 2021 reelection bid for the Republican nomination for the 39th NJ Assembly District. However, they kept the county line in Bergen, which was the larger portion of their district. They lost their races in Passaic but still won the primary because they won in Bergen.

¹² In the 48 states that hold their state legislative elections in even-numbered years, 1,121 state legislators lost primary elections between 2010 and 2022. See Douglas Kronaizl, A Closer Look at the 229 Incumbents who Lost State Legislative Primaries, (Oct. 21, 2022), Ballotpedia. <https://news.ballotpedia.org/2022/10/21/a-closer-look-at-the-229-incumbents-who-lost-state-legislative-primeraries/>. In Virginia, which holds its state legislative elections in odd-numbered years, 24 state legislative incumbents lost their primary elections between 2011 and 2023.

¹³ Warren County did not use a county line ballot in 2009.

Figure 14: New Jersey incumbent legislators who ran on the county line in some counties in their legislative district (2003-2023)

| | Year | Incumbent | Party/ District | Chamber | # of Counties in District | County | Had County Line | Won County | Won Primary |
|---|------|------------------|--------------------|----------|------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1 | 2005 | Joseph Azzolina | R/13 | Assembly | 2 | Middlesex | Yes | Yes | No |
| | | | | | | Monmouth | No | No | |
| 2 | 2007 | David Russo | R/40 | Assembly | 3 | Bergen | No | Yes | Yes |
| | | | | | | Essex | Yes | Yes | |
| | | | | | | Passaic | Yes | Yes | |
| 3 | 2017 | Samuel Thompson | R/12 | Senate | 4 | Burlington | No | Yes | Yes |
| | | | | | | Middlesex | No | No | |
| | | | | | | Monmouth | Yes | Yes | |
| | | | | | | Ocean | Yes | Yes | |
| 4 | 2017 | Ronald Dancer | R/12 | Assembly | 4 | Burlington | No | Yes | Yes |
| | | | | | | Middlesex | No | Yes | |
| | | | | | | Monmouth | Yes | Yes | |
| | | | | | | Ocean | Yes | Yes | |
| 5 | 2017 | Robert Clifton | R/12 | Assembly | 4 | Burlington | No | Yes | Yes |
| | | | | | | Middlesex | No | No | |
| | | | | | | Monmouth | Yes | Yes | |
| | | | | | | Ocean | Yes | Yes | |
| 6 | 2021 | Jay Webber | R/26 | Assembly | 3 | Essex | No ¹⁴ | Yes | Yes |
| | | | | | | Morris | Yes | Yes | |
| | | | | | | Passaic | No ¹⁴ | Yes | |
| 7 | 2021 | BettyLou DeCroce | R/26 | Assembly | 3 | Essex | Yes | Yes | No |
| | | | | | | Morris | No | No | |
| | | | | | | Passaic | Yes | Yes | |
| 8 | 2021 | Robert Auth | R/39 | Assembly | 2 | Bergen | Yes | Yes | Yes |

¹⁴ Voters were instructed to vote for two candidates for the Assembly, but only one Assembly candidate (BettyLou DeCroce) appeared on the Essex and Passaic county lines.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|-----------------|------|----------|---|---------|-----|-----|-----|
| | | | | | | Passaic | No | No | |
| 9 | 2021 | DeAnne DeFuccio | R/39 | Assembly | 2 | Bergen | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| | | | | | | Passaic | No | No | |

The ten remaining incumbents ran off the county line in every county in their legislative districts. Only two of those ten won their primaries -- Nia Gill in 2003 and Ronald Rice in 2007. Rice won in Essex County, which accounted for the entirety of his district, while Gill won in Essex but lost in Passaic, the second county in her district. No incumbent running entirely off the county line has won a primary over the last 16 years.

Figure 15: New Jersey incumbent legislators who ran off the county line in all the counties in their legislative district (2003-2023)

| | Year | Incumbent | Party/ District | Chamber | # of Counties in District | County | Had County Line | Won County | Won Primary |
|----|------|------------------------|--------------------|----------|------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1 | 2003 | Arline Friscia | D/19 | Assembly | 1 | Middlesex | No | No | No |
| 2 | 2003 | Nia Gill | D/34 | Senate | 2 | Essex | No | Yes | Yes |
| | | | | | | Passaic | No | No | |
| 3 | 2005 | Anthony Chiappone | D/31 | Assembly | 1 | Hudson | No | No | No |
| 4 | 2007 | Craig Stanley | D/28 | Assembly | 1 | Essex | No | No | No |
| 5 | 2007 | Oadline Truitt | D/28 | Assembly | 1 | Essex | No | No | No |
| 6 | 2007 | Wilfredo Caraballo | D/29 | Assembly | 2 | Essex | No | No | No |
| | | | | | | Union | No | No | |
| 7 | 2007 | Ronald Rice | D/28 | Senate | 1 | Essex | No | Yes | Yes |
| 8 | 2019 | Joe Howarth | R/8 | Assembly | 3 | Atlantic | No | No | No |
| | | | | | | Burlington | No | No | |
| | | | | | | Camden | No | No | |
| 9 | 2021 | Serena DiMaso | R/13 | Assembly | 1 | Monmouth | No | No | No |
| 10 | 2023 | Nia Gill ¹⁵ | D/27 | Senate | 2 | Essex | No | No | No |
| | | | | | | Passaic | No | No | |

¹⁵ From January 2002 to January 2024, Senator Nia Gill represented the 34th legislative district in the New Jersey State Senate. As of June 2023, the 34th district included parts of Essex and Passaic Counties. Following the 2022 redistricting, Senator Gill's hometown of Montclair was moved into the 27th legislative district. Prior to redistricting, the 27th legislative district included parts of Essex and Morris Counties. After redistricting, the 27th district included parts of Essex and Passaic Counties. In the 2023 primary, Gill ran against another incumbent, Senator Richard Codey, who had represented the 27th legislative district prior to redistricting.

IV. Impact of Endorsement and County Line Primary Ballot vs Endorsement Only

Endorsements by county party organizations provide benefits beyond placement on the county line, including access to financial and human resources and a slogan candidates can use on the primary ballot to indicate the party's endorsement. To evaluate the impact of the county line versus the other benefits of party endorsement, I examined twelve years of competitive primaries for governor, the U.S. Senate, and the U.S. House of Representatives. Between 2012 and 2022, there were 37 contests in which a candidate was endorsed by county party organizations both in counties that used a county line ballot and in counties that did not.

Figure 16: Performance of candidates for Governor, U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives who received endorsements in both county line and non-county line counties

| Candidate | Year | Position | Party | Incumbent | Vote % On County Line | Vote % Endorsed, No County Line | Percentage Point Difference ¹⁶ |
|----------------------|------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Joe Kyrillos | 2012 | US Senate | Republican | | 78% | 46% | 32 |
| Frank LoBiondo | 2012 | CD 2 | Republican | Yes | 88% | 83% | 5 |
| Cassandra Shober | 2012 | CD 2 | Democrat | | 81% | 52% | 30 |
| Scott Garrett | 2012 | CD 5 | Republican | Yes | 91% | 81% | 11 |
| Leonard Lance | 2012 | CD 7 | Republican | Yes | 69% | 59% | 10 |
| Barbara Buono | 2013 | Governor | Democrat | | 87% | 79% | 8 |
| Chris Christie | 2013 | Governor | Republican | Yes | 92% | 88% | 4 |
| William Hughes | 2014 | CD 2 | Democrat | | 82% | 65% | 17 |
| Frank LoBiondo | 2014 | CD 2 | Republican | Yes | 81% | 77% | 4 |
| Roy Cho | 2014 | CD 5 | Democrat | | 91% | 86% | 5 |
| Leonard Lance | 2014 | CD 7 | Republican | Yes | 60% | 52% | 8 |
| Mark Dunec | 2014 | CD 11 | Democrat | | 78% | 59% | 19 |
| Rodney Frelinghuysen | 2014 | CD 11 | Republican | Yes | 73% | 66% | 8 |
| David Cole | 2016 | CD 2 | Democrat | | 84% | 39% | 45 |
| Scott Garrett | 2016 | CD 5 | Republican | Yes | 88% | 75% | 14 |
| Leonard Lance | 2016 | CD 7 | Republican | Yes | 62% | 55% | 6 |
| Rodney Frelinghuysen | 2016 | CD 11 | Republican | Yes | 83% | 67% | 16 |
| Kim Guadagno | 2017 | Governor | Republican | | 54% | 39% | 15 |
| Phil Murphy | 2017 | Governor | Democrat | | 46% | 34% | 12 |
| Bob Hugin | 2018 | US Senate | Republican | | 77% | 62% | 15 |
| Bob Menendez | 2018 | US Senate | Democrat | Yes | 59% | 44% | 15 |

¹⁶ Numbers may not add up due to rounding.

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------|-----------|------------|-------------------|-----|-----|----|
| Jeff Van Drew | 2018 | CD 2 | Democrat | | 56% | 35% | 22 |
| Mikie Sherrill | 2018 | CD 11 | Democrat | | 79% | 57% | 22 |
| Cory Booker | 2020 | US Senate | Democrat | Yes | 88% | 85% | 3 |
| Rik Mehta | 2020 | US Senate | Republican | | 51% | 35% | 16 |
| Brigid Callahan Harrison | 2020 | CD 2 | Democrat | | 34% | 10% | 24 |
| Jeff Van Drew | 2020 | CD 2 | Republican | Yes ¹⁷ | 80% | 70% | 10 |
| Josh Gottheimer | 2020 | CD 5 | Democrat | Yes | 67% | 64% | 4 |
| Thomas Kean | 2020 | CD 7 | Republican | | 87% | 74% | 13 |
| Bill Pascrell | 2020 | CD 9 | Democrat | Yes | 77% | 85% | -7 |
| Billy Prempeh | 2020 | CD 9 | Republican | | 69% | 62% | 7 |
| Jack Ciattarelli | 2021 | Governor | Republican | | 50% | 39% | 11 |
| Tim Alexander | 2022 | CD 2 | Democrat | | 65% | 54% | 11 |
| Jeff Van Drew | 2022 | CD 2 | Republican | Yes | 86% | 87% | -1 |
| Frank Pallotta | 2022 | CD 5 | Republican | | 61% | 58% | 3 |
| Thomas Kean | 2022 | CD 7 | Republican | | 48% | 34% | 14 |
| Tom Malinowski | 2022 | CD 7 | Democrat | Yes | 94% | 93% | 1 |

In 35 of the 37 contests, candidates received a larger share of the vote when they were on the county line than when they were endorsed but there was no county line. The difference in the candidate's performance ranged from -7 to 45 percentage points, with a mean of 12 percentage points and a median of 11 percentage points.

The impact of the county line appeared to be greater for non-incumbents. For the 17 incumbents, the difference in their share of the total vote between being on the county line and being endorsed by the county party organization but there not being a county line ranged from -7 to 16 percentage points, with a mean of 7 percentage points and a median of 6 percentage points. For the twenty non-incumbents, the difference in their share of the total vote ranged from 3 to 45 percentage points, with a mean of 17 percentage points and a median of 15 percentage points.

Figure 17: Difference in share of total vote between being on county line vs endorsed only

| | Mean Difference | Median difference |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| All Candidates | 12 | 11 |
| Incumbents | 7 | 6 |
| Not-Incumbents | 17 | 15 |

The 2020 Republican primary for the U.S. Senate provides a particularly data-rich example of the difference between being on the county line and being endorsed by the county party organization in a county that does not use a county line ballot. With New Jersey an epicenter of

¹⁷ Van Drew was first elected in 2018 to represent the 2nd Congressional District as a Democrat. He subsequently switched to the Republican party. Although he ran as an incumbent congressperson in 2020, that year was the first time that he competed in the Republican primary.

the COVID-19 outbreak, Governor Phil Murphy issued an executive order for the 2020 primary election to be conducted by mail.¹⁸ As a result of the Vote-By-Mail directive, voters in three counties that previously voted primarily using a machine ballot that is organized around the county line (Hunterdon, Passaic, and Warren) instead received office block paper ballots, with candidates listed beneath the position they were seeking. Parties in two additional counties (Salem and Sussex) endorse candidates and award a slogan but do not use a county line ballot. Prior to 2021, Morris county Republicans did not endorse candidates or use a county line primary ballot.¹⁹ In 2020, this resulted in a total of five counties in which the Republican party endorsed candidates but did not use a county line ballot, fifteen counties that endorsed candidates and used a county line ballot, and one county that did not endorse or use a county line ballot.

The 2020 Republican primary for the U.S. Senate included five candidates. Two of them split the twenty county endorsements between them. Rik Mehta received sixteen county endorsements and Hirsh Singh received four.²⁰

Mehta and Singh won every county in which they were endorsed and on the county line (see Figure 18). Mehta received an average 51% of the total vote when he was on the county line and 9% when Singh was on the county line for a difference of 42 percentage points. Singh received an average 72% of the total vote when he was on the county line and 23% when Mehta was on the county line for a difference of 49 percentage points.

Figure 18: 2020 U.S. Senate Republican primary, counties with endorsement and county line (Vote % of candidate on county line shown in bold and shaded gray)

| County | Rik Mehta | Hirsh Singh | Patricia Flanagan | Natalie Lynn Rivera | Eugene Anagnos |
|------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| Atlantic | 6% | 77% | 12% | 4% | 1% |
| Bergen | 51% | 21% | 20% | 5% | 3% |
| Burlington | 49% | 26% | 16% | 7% | 2% |
| Camden | 54% | 23% | 15% | 6% | 2% |
| Cape May | 7% | 73% | 15% | 3% | 2% |

¹⁸ Voters also could vote at a limited number of polling places on election day using provisional paper ballots, or, if the voter was disabled, on an ADA-accessible voting machine. In total, 93.5% of all voters used a vote by mail paper ballot. See Matt Gray, Vote by mail participation in N.J. nearly doubles since pre-pandemic. Some counties better than others, October 16, 2021, <https://www.nj.com/politics/2021/10/vote-by-mail-participation-in-nj-nearly-doubles-since-pre-pandemic.html>

¹⁹ See Fred Snowflake, The Real World Ramifications of a Morris GO33P Line, December 26, 2020, InsiderNJ.

<https://www.insidernj.com/real-world-ramifications-morris-gop-line/>

²⁰ Although Morris County Republicans did not endorse candidates pre-primary prior to 2021, they traditionally allowed the candidate who filed first to use the county party slogan on the ballot. Mehta received the slogan in 2020, which enabled him to use the same slogan on the ballot as President Trump and two other Republican candidates who were running unopposed. See Senator Bucco, Freeholder Cabana and Morris County Mayors Endorse Mehta for Senate, June 22, 2020, InsiderNJ.

<https://www.insidernj.com/press-release/senator-bucco-freeholder-cabana-morris-county-mayors-endorse-mehta-senate/> Mehta won Morris county with 35% of the total vote. Singh received 32% of the total vote, Flanagan received 22%, Anagnos received 7% and Rivera received 5%.

| | | | | | |
|------------|------------|------------|-----|----|----|
| Cumberland | 11% | 65% | 18% | 5% | 2% |
| Essex | 46% | 31% | 15% | 5% | 2% |
| Gloucester | 47% | 25% | 20% | 4% | 4% |
| Hudson | 50% | 24% | 17% | 6% | 3% |
| Mercer | 54% | 20% | 16% | 5% | 5% |
| Middlesex | 41% | 27% | 22% | 6% | 3% |
| Monmouth | 55% | 24% | 14% | 5% | 2% |
| Ocean | 11% | 74% | 9% | 6% | 1% |
| Somerset | 52% | 18% | 23% | 4% | 3% |
| Union | 58% | 20% | 13% | 8% | 2% |

Mehta was endorsed by the five counties that did not use a county line ballot but did endorse candidates. He received an average 35% of the total vote in those five counties versus 51% when he was on the county line. Mehta lost in three of the five counties in which he was endorsed but the ballot was not structured around a county line, in contrast to winning every county in which he was on the county line (see Figure 19). The elections in the five counties that did not use a county line ballot were also much closer than in the fifteen counties that used county line ballots, with a mean margin of victory of 7.8 percentage points versus 35.1 percentage points.

Figure 19: Results in counties that endorsed Mehta but did not use a county line ballot in 2020 U.S. Senate Republican primary (Vote % of winning candidate shown in bold and shaded gray)

| County | Rik Mehta | Hirsh Singh | Patricia Flanagan | Natalie Lynn Rivera | Eugene Anagnos |
|-----------|------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| Hunterdon | 38% | 26% | 25% | 7% | 4% |
| Passaic | 31% | 28% | 35% | 4% | 2% |
| Salem | 32% | 36% | 25% | 6% | 2% |
| Sussex | 44% | 26% | 22% | 4% | 4% |
| Warren | 31% | 32% | 26% | 7% | 4% |

Conclusion

New Jersey's unique county line primary ballots provide a substantial electoral benefit to candidates who appear on the county line. Twenty years of election results make evident that this advantage exists for U.S. House and Senate races and for state legislative races. The advantage of the county line appears to be more powerful than incumbency. For state legislative incumbents, it is nearly impossible to lose when running on the county line and very difficult to win when running off the county line. Analysis of 37 contests for governor, U.S. Senate and U.S.

House of Representatives suggests that candidates on the county line perform an average of 12 percentage points better than candidates who receive the county party endorsement but do not appear on the county line. The average difference is 17 for non-incumbent candidates.

Appendix A:**Examples of candidates running against each other stacked in the same column or row****Middlesex County 2017 Democratic Primary Ballot**

| OFFICE TITLE CARGO | DEMOCRATIC DEMOCRÁTICO દ્રોક્સિકો | A | DEMOCRATIC DEMOCRÁTICO દ્રોક્સિકો | B | DEMOCRATIC DEMOCRÁTICO દ્રોક્સિકો | C | DEMOCRATIC DEMOCRÁTICO દ્રોક્સિકો | D | DEMOCRATIC DEMOCRÁTICO દ્રોક્સિકો | |
|--|---|------|--|------|---|------|---|--|---|------|
| Governor 4 Year Term, Vote for One Gobernador Término de 4 Años, Voto por Uno ચોસું 4 વર્ષની અધિકારી એક વિના | Jin JOHNSON <i>The Progressive Leader For All Families</i> | [IA] | Phil MURPHY <i>Middlesex County Democratic Organization</i> | [IB] | Mark ZUNA <i>Let's Rebuild New Jersey Together</i> | [IC] | Howard J. LESNIAK <i>Democrat for Governor</i> | [ID] | William BRENNAN <i>Progress With Integrity</i> | [IE] |
| State Senator 4 Year Term, Vote for One Senador del Estado Término de 4 Años, Voto por Uno ચોસું 4 વર્ષની અધિકારી એક | | | Joseph F. VITALE <i>Middlesex County Democratic Organization</i> | [3B] | | | | John S. WISNEWSKI <i>Main Street, Not Wall Street</i> | [2D] | |
| Members of the General Assembly 1 Year Term 2 Year Term, Vote for Two Miembros de la Asamblea General Término de 2 Años, Voto por Dos ચોસું 2 વર્ષની અધિકારી એટલું 1 વર્ષ એવી 2 વર્ષ એવી | | | Craig J. COUCHLIN <i>Middlesex County Democratic Organization</i> | [6B] | | | | | | |
| Surrogate 5 Year Term, Vote for One Juez de Testamento Término de 5 Años, Voto por Uno ચોસું 5 વર્ષની અધિકારી એક | | | Kris L. HOAGLAND <i>Middlesex County Democratic Organization</i> | [9B] | | | | | | |
| Members of the Board of Chosen Freeholders 3 Year Term, Vote for Two Miembros de la Junta de Proyectores Electos Término de 3 Años, Voto por Dos ચોસું 3 વર્ષની અધિકારી એટલું | | | Charles TOMARO <i>Middlesex County Democratic Organization</i> | [1B] | Reza NAZIR <i>Central Jersey Progressive Democrats</i> | [1C] | | | | |
| Members of the Board of Chosen Freeholders 1 Year Unexpired Term, Vote for One Miembros de la Junta de Proyectores Electos Término de 1 Año, Sin Expirar, Voto por Uno ચોસું 1 વર્ષની અધિકારી એક | | | Leslie KOPPEL <i>Middlesex County Democratic Organization</i> | [1B] | Catherine HUNT <i>Central Jersey Progressive Democrats</i> | [1C] | | | | |
| | | | Santi MARIA <i>Middlesex County Democratic Organization</i> | [1B] | | | | | | |

Middlesex County 2017 Republican Primary Ballot

| OFFICE TITLE CARGO | REPUBLICAN REPUBLICANO રિપુલિકન | F | REPUBLICAN REPUBLICANO રિપુલિકન | G | REPUBLICAN REPUBLICANO રિપુલિકન | H | PERSONAL CHOICE SELECCION PERSONAL રૂપરૂપનિ પસંદગી |
|--|---|-----|--|-----|--|-----|--|
| Governor 4 Year Term, Vote for One Gobernador Término de 4 Años, Voto por Uno ચોસાંગ 4 વર્ષની કૃતિ વિટ કરો જાન | Joseph R. RUULO Drown The Swine In Trenton | [F] | Jack CIATTARELLI Middlesex County Republican Organization | [G] | Kim GUADAGNO Middlesex County Republicans For Kim | [H] | Write In <i>Escriba</i> વિષા |
| | Steve ROGERS Renew & Restore New Jersey | [F] | | | | | |
| | Hirsh SINGH New Jersey Regular Republican | [F] | | | | | |
| State Senator 19th District 4 Year Term, Vote for One Senador del Estado Distrito 19 Término de 4 Años, Voto por Uno ચોસાંગ 19 વિભાગ 4 વર્ષની કૃતિ વિટ કરો જાન | | | Arthur J. RITTENHOUSE, Jr. Middlesex County Republican Organization | [G] | | | Write In <i>Escriba</i> વિષા |
| Members of the General Assembly 19th District 2 Year Term, Vote for Two Miembros de la Asamblea General Distrito 19 Término de 2 Años, Voto por Dos ચોસાંગ 19 વિભાગ 2 વર્ષની કૃતિ વિટ કરો જાન | | | Deenak MALHOTRA Middlesex County Republican Organization | [G] | | | Write In <i>Escriba</i> વિષા |
| | | | Anupit K. RIAR Middlesex County Republican Organization | [G] | | | Write In <i>Escriba</i> વિષા |
| Surrogate 5 Year Term, Vote for One Juez de Testamento Término de 5 Años, Voto por Uno ચોસાંગ 5 વર્ષની કૃતિ વિટ કરો જાન | | | Karen L. NICOLA Middlesex County Republican Organization | [G] | | | Write In <i>Escriba</i> વિષા |
| Members of the Board of Chosen Freeholders 3 Year Term, Vote for Two Miembros de la Junta de Propietarios Electos Término de 3 Años, Voto por Dos ચોસાંગ 3 વર્ષની કૃતિ વિટ કરો જાન | | | Miss KOLTA Middlesex County Republican Organization | [G] | | | Write In <i>Escriba</i> વિષા |
| | | | Priy PANDYA-PATEL Middlesex County Republican Organization | [G] | | | Write In <i>Escriba</i> વિષા |
| Members of the Board of Chosen Freeholders 1 Year Unexpired Term, Vote for One Miembros de la Junta de Propietarios Electos Término de 1 Año Sin Expirar, Voto por Uno ચોસાંગ 1 વર્ષની કૃતિ વિટ કરો જાન | | | Susan ZELLNER HOGAN Middlesex County Republican Organization | [G] | | | Write In <i>Escriba</i> વિષા |
| State Committeeman 4 Year Term, Vote for One Miembro del Comité Estatal Término de Cuatro Años, Voto por Uno ચોસાંગ 4 વર્ષની કૃતિ વિટ કરો જાન | | | Donald KATZ Middlesex County Republican Organization | [G] | | | Write In <i>Escriba</i> વિષા |
| State Committeewoman 4 Year Term, Vote for One Miembra del Comité Estatal Término de Cuatro Años, Voto por Una ચોસાંગ 4 વર્ષની કૃતિ વિટ કરો જાન | | | April BENGIVENGA Middlesex County Republican Organization | [G] | | | Write In <i>Escriba</i> વિષા |
| Members of the Borough Council 3 Year Term, Vote for Two Miembros del Consejo Municipal Término de 3 Años, Voto por Dos ચોસાંગ 3 વર્ષની કૃતિ વિટ કરો જાન | | | John J. SCHON Middlesex County Republican Organization | [G] | | | Write In <i>Escriba</i> વિષા |
| | | | Jasvinder SINGH Middlesex County Republican Organization | [G] | | | Write In <i>Escriba</i> વિષા |

Camden County 2020 Democratic Primary Ballot

| OFFICE TITLE TÍTULO DE OFICINA | COLUMN COLUMNA 1 | COLUMN COLUMNA 2 | COLUMN COLUMNA 3 | WRITE-IN POR ESCRITO |
|--|-------------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------|
| <p>Choice For President <i>(Vote for One)</i> Presidente de los Estados Unidos <i>(Vota Por Uno)</i></p> <hr/> <p>Delegates - 5th Democratic Delegate District A vote for the President is an automatic vote for all affiliated District Delegates and Alternate District Delegates to the Democratic National Convention <i>(Delegados - 5º Distrito Delegado Demócrata)</i> Un voto por el Presidente es automáticamente un voto a los Delegados Afiliados y los Delegados Alternos por distrito para la Convención Nacional Demócratica</p> <hr/> <p>United States Senator <i>(Vote for One)</i> Senador de los Estados Unidos <i>(Vota Por Uno)</i></p> <hr/> <p>Member of the House of Representatives <i>(Vote for One)</i> Miembro de Cámara de Representantes de los Estados Unidos <i>(Vota Por Uno)</i></p> <hr/> <p>Surrogate <i>(Vote for One)</i> Substituto <i>(Vota Por Uno)</i></p> <hr/> <p>Member of the Board of Chosen Freeholders <i>Unexpired Term (Vote for One)</i> Miembros de la Junta de Legisladores del Condado <i>(Vota Por Uno)</i></p> <hr/> <p>Members of the Board of Chosen Freeholders <i>(Vote for Two)</i> Miembros de la Junta de Legisladores del Condado <i>(Vota Por Dos)</i></p> <hr/> <p>Members of Township Committee <i>(Vote for Two)</i> Miembros del Comité Municipal <i>(Vota Por Dos)</i></p> | COLUMN COLUMNA 1 | COLUMN COLUMNA 2 | COLUMN COLUMNA 3 | WRITE-IN POR ESCRITO |
| | <input type="radio"/> Joe Biden | <input type="radio"/> Joseph R. BIDEN | <input type="radio"/> Bernie Sanders | <input type="radio"/> |
| | | <small>Camden County Democratic Committee, Inc.</small> DISTRICT DELEGATES Mary CAMPBELL CRUZ Brett CANNON Malini GUHA | <small>Bernie 2020, Not My Us.</small> DISTRICT DELEGATES Tara ASTOR Anna GOTTLGRAF Nick SODANO | |
| | | <small>Uncommitted</small> | <small>DISTRICT DELEGATES</small> Israel DEL RIO | |
| | <input type="radio"/> Lawrence Hamm | <input type="radio"/> Cory BOOKER | | <input type="radio"/> |
| | | <small>Camden County Democratic Committee, Inc.</small> Brigit CALLAHAN HARRISON | <small>Camden County Democrats 2020</small> Amy KENNEDY | <input type="radio"/> |
| | | | <small>Camden County's Moderate Democrat</small> Robert D. TURKAVAGE | <input type="radio"/> |
| | | | <small>True Democrats</small> Van CUNNINGHAM | <input type="radio"/> |
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Examples of candidates placed multiple blank spaces apart from their competitors

Union County 2020 Democratic primary ballot

| FORM 28 10th Congressional District 10º Distrito Congresional Borough of Roselle Municipio de Roselle | | OFFICIAL DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY ELECTION BALLOT BOLETA OFICIAL DEMÓCRATA DE LAS ELECCIONES PRIMARIAS Union County, New Jersey - July 7, 2020 | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|---|--|---|--|--|
| OFFICE TITLE TÍTULO OFICIAL | | Column / Columna A Democratic / Demócrata | Column / Columna B Democratic / Demócrata | Column / Columna C Democratic / Demócrata | Column / Columna D Democratic / Demócrata | Column / Columna E Democratic / Demócrata | Column / Columna F Democratic / Demócrata | PERSONAL CHOICE Write in and fill in oval SELECCIÓN PERSONAL Escriba y llene el óvalo |
| Choice for President Vote for One | Escoger para Presidente Voto por Uno | Joseph R. BIDEN 18 0 <small>Rep. De Democratica Del. del Condado</small> | | Bernie SANDERS 10 0 <small>Sen. de Demócrata</small> | | | | 1 0 <small>Write in and fill in oval / Escriba y llene el óvalo</small> |
| 13th District Delegates to Democratic National Convention | Delegados del Distrito 13º a la Convención Nacional Demócrata | | | | | | | NO PERSONAL CHOICE FOR DELEGATES |
| United States Senator 6 Year Term - Vote for One | Senador de los Estados Unidos Término de 6 Años - Voto por Uno | Laurence HAMM 24 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | Corey BOOKER 28 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | | | | | 2 0 <small>Write in and fill in oval / Escriba y llene el óvalo</small> |
| Member of House of Representatives 2 Year Term - Vote for One | Miembro de la Cámara de Representantes Término de 2 Años - Voto por Uno | | Donald M. PAYNE, JR. 38 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | | | Eugene D. MAZO 36 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | John J. FLORA 37 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | 3 0 <small>Write in and fill in oval / Escriba y llene el óvalo</small> |
| Sheriff 3 Year Term - Vote for One | Alguacil Término de 3 Años - Voto por Uno | Jack MOLENAAR 44 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | Peter CORVELLI 48 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | | | | | 4 0 <small>Write in and fill in oval / Escriba y llene el óvalo</small> |
| County Clerk 5 Year Term - Vote for One | Secretaria del Contado Término de 5 Años - Voto por Uno | Sean M. SMITH 54 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | Joanne RAJOPPI 58 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | | | | | 5 0 <small>Write in and fill in oval / Escriba y llene el óvalo</small> |
| Members of Board of Chosen Freeholders 3 Year Term - Vote for Three | Miembros de la Junta Directiva (Freeholders) Término de 3 Años - Voto por Tres | Aissa Catherine HEATH 64 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | Christopher HUDAK 68 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | Bonina ARMSTEAD 80 0 <small>Demócratas Juntos Por Freeholders</small> | | | | 6 0 <small>Write in and fill in oval / Escriba y llene el óvalo</small> |
| | | Justin Paul CHEA 74 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | Angela R. GARRETSON 78 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | Daniel YAMAKAITIS 70 0 <small>Demócratas Juntos Por Freeholders</small> | | | | 7 0 <small>Write in and fill in oval / Escriba y llene el óvalo</small> |
| | | Hector MENESES, JR. 84 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | Lourdes LEON 88 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | | | | | 8 0 <small>Write in and fill in oval / Escriba y llene el óvalo</small> |
| 1st Ward Council Member 3 Year Term - Vote for One | Miembro del Consejo Barrio 1 Término de 3 Años - Voto por Uno | Isabel SOUSA 84 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | Richard VILLEDA 98 0 <small>Rep. De Demócrata Del. del Condado</small> | | | | | 9 0 <small>Write in and fill in oval / Escriba y llene el óvalo</small> |

Burlington County 2020 Democratic primary ballot

| DEMOCRAT MAIL-IN BALLOT <small>OFFICIAL PRIMARY ELECTION • JULY 7, 2020</small> <small>COUNTY OF BURLINGTON</small> <small>TOWNSHIP OF BASS RIVER</small> <small>2ND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT • 2ND DELEGATE DISTRICT</small> | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|---|--|---|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS <small>Please read the following before marking your ballot:</small> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Use ONLY a pencil or ink pen (black or blue) to mark your ballot. Do not use red ink. 2. Completely fill in oval to the right of each of your selections. MARK BALLOT LIKE THIS: John Doe <input checked="" type="radio"/> 3. To vote for any person whose name is not printed on this ballot, go to the Personal Choice Column and darken the oval by the words "write-in". Write the name of the person for which you want to write-in. Write the name of the person for which you want to vote on the blank line. 4. If you tear, deface or incorrectly mark this ballot, contact the Burlington County Clerk to obtain a new ballot. | | | | | | | | | |
| OFFICE TITLE | BURLINGTON COUNTY REGULAR DEMOCRATS COLUMN 1 | DEMOCRAT COLUMN 2 | DEMOCRAT COLUMN 3 | DEMOCRAT COLUMN 4 | DEMOCRAT COLUMN 5 | DEMOCRAT COLUMN 6 | DEMOCRAT COLUMN 7 | DEMOCRAT COLUMN 8 | PERSONAL CHOICE |
| CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT FULL TERM (VOTE FOR ONE) | Joseph R. BIDEN <small>Burlington County Regular Democrats</small> | | Bernie SANDERS <small>Bowl 2020. Not Mt. Us.</small> | | | | | UNCOMMITTED <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> WRITE-IN |
| DISTRICT DELEGATES REGULAR DEMOCRATS (VOTE FOR ONE) | A VOTE FOR CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT IS AN AUTOMATIC VOTE FOR ALL ATTENDED Male AND Female Delegates AS Alternate Delegates DELEGATE TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION | BURLINGTON COUNTY REGULAR DEMOCRATS BRENDA BRATHWAITE MICHAEL SULEMAN PHILIP NUFIO | | BERNIE 2020. NOT ME. US. LAURYN DIAZ SEAN LOFTUS CRISTIAN MORENO-RODRIGUEZ | | | | UNCOMMITTED <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> JOYCE MOLLINEAUX |
| MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE (VOTE FOR ONE) | Cory BOOKER <small>Burlington County Regular Democrats</small> | Lawrence HAMM <small>Not Me. Us.</small> | | | | | | | <input type="radio"/> WRITE-IN |
| MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (2nd Congressional District) (VOTE FOR ONE) | igid CALLAHAN HARRISON <input checked="" type="radio"/> <small>Burlington County Regular Democrats</small> | | | John FRANCIS <small>Walking For You</small> | Amy KENNEDY <small>Burlington County Delegates 2020</small> | WILL CUNNINGHAM <small>The Delegates</small> | Robert D. TURKAVAGE <small>Burlington County's House Delegates</small> | | <input type="radio"/> WRITE-IN |
| | Tom PULLION <input type="radio"/> <small>Burlington County Regular Democrats</small> | | | | | | | | <input type="radio"/> WRITE-IN |
| | Balvir SINGH <input type="radio"/> <small>Burlington County Regular Democrats</small> | | | | | | | | <input type="radio"/> WRITE-IN |

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Cumberland County 2020 Democratic primary ballot

| OFFICE TITLE TÍTULO OFICIAL | A Democratic Demócrata | B Democratic Demócrata | C Democratic Demócrata | D Democratic Demócrata | E Democratic Demócrata | F Democratic Demócrata | PERSONAL CHOICE SELECCIÓN PERSONAL |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|------------------------------|---|
| Choice for President Vote for One Escoger para Presidente Vote por Uno | Cumberland County Regular Democratic Organization Joseph R. BIDEN CUMBERLAND COUNTY REGULAR DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION John J. BURZICHELLI, Jr. Lenora KODYTER Gina Marie SANTORE | Bernie 2020 Not Me. Us. Bernie SANDERS BERNIE 2020 NOT ME. US. Annie BARBACHON Crystal HARRIS Jereniah SCHENMERAN | | | | | Personal Choice Selección Personal <input type="radio"/> |
| A VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IS A VOTE FOR ALL DISTRICT DELEGATES 1st District Delegates to Democratic National Convention Un voto para presidente es un voto para todos los delegados en nombre delegados del Distrito 1 a la Convención Nacional Demócrata | | | | | | | NO PERSONAL CHOICE FOR DELEGATES NO HAY SELECCIÓN PERSONAL PARA DELEGADOS |
| United States Senator Vote for One Senador de los Estados Unidos Vote por Uno | Cumberland County Regular Democratic Organization Cory BOOKER | Bernie 2020 Not Me. Us. Lawrence HAMM | | | | | Personal Choice Selección Personal <input type="radio"/> |
| House of Representatives Vote for One Cámara de Representantes Vote por Uno | Cumberland County Regular Democratic Organization Brigid CALLAHAN HARRISON | True Democrats Will CUNNINGHAM | Cumberland County's Moderate Democrat Robert D. TURKAVAGE | Walking for You John FRANCIS | Cumberland County Democrats 2020 Amy KENNEDY | | Personal Choice Selección Personal <input type="radio"/> |
| Sheriff Vote for One Alguacil Vote por Uno | Cumberland County Regular Democratic Organization Robert A. AUSTINO | | | | | | Personal Choice Selección Personal <input type="radio"/> |
| Board of Chosen Freeholders Vote for Three Junta Directiva (Freeholders) Vote por Tres | Cumberland County Regular Democratic Organization Carol MUSSO | | | | Cumberland County Democrats 2020 Jack SURRENY | | Personal Choice Selección Personal <input type="radio"/> |
| | Cumberland County Regular Democratic Organization Bruce COOPER | | | | Cumberland County Democrats 2020 Donna PEARSON | | Personal Choice Selección Personal <input type="radio"/> |
| | Cumberland County Regular Democratic Organization George CASTELLINI | | | | Cumberland County Democrats 2020 Tracey WELLS-HUGGINS | | Personal Choice Selección Personal <input type="radio"/> |
| Township Committee Vote for One Comité de la Municipalidad Vote por Uno | Cumberland County Regular Democratic Organization Fletcher JAMISON | | LaRae SMITH | | | | Personal Choice Selección Personal <input type="radio"/> |

Appendix B

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New Brunswick, NJ 08901

JULIA SASS RUBIN

848-932-2967(W) /609-937-5572 (C)
jlsrubin@rutgers.edu

EMPLOYMENT

Edward J. Bloustein School of Planning and Policy, Rutgers University

Associate Dean of Academic Programs, January 2023 - present
Director of the Public Policy Program, January 2022 - present
Associate Professor, 2011 - present
Assistant Professor, 2003 - 2011

Princeton School of International and Public Affairs, Princeton University

Associate Visiting Professor, 2012 – present

Graduate School of Education, Rutgers University

Associate Member, PhD in Education Faculty, 2019 - present

Scholars Strategy Network New Jersey/Philadelphia Chapter

Co-Leader, 2020 – 2023

EDUCATION

Brown University Taubman Center for Public Policy and American Institutions

Post-Doctoral Fellow in Public Policy, July 2002 – June 2003.

Harvard University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

Ph.D., Organizational Behavior, 2002.

Dissertation: *Exploring Organizations Operating on the Institutional Cusp:*

The Origins and Behavior of Community Development Venture Capital Funds

Committee: Theda Skocpol (Chair), Louis B. Barnes, Jeff Bradach, Marc Ventresca

Harvard University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

A.M., Sociology, June 1997.

Harvard University Graduate School of Business

M. B. A., *with distinction*, June 1990.

First and Second Year Honors.

Harvard-Radcliffe College

A.B., Social Anthropology, *cum laude* in general studies, 1984.

Elizabeth Cary Agassiz and John Harvard Scholarships.

TEACHING & MENTORING AWARDS

- Rutgers University nominee for the Northeastern Association of Graduate Schools doctoral teaching award (2022)
- Rutgers Graduate School Excellence in Teaching & Mentoring Award (2021)
- Jerome Rose Teaching Award - presented annually to Bloustein School full-time tenure-track and non-tenure track faculty based on student nomination (2017)
- Taught practicum course whose final project "Assessing the Impact of Community Development Financial Institutions" received achievement in planning award from the Association of New Jersey Planning Officials (2012)
- Taught practicum course whose final project "Community Stability in Jersey City's West Side" received the outstanding Student Project Award from the NJ Chapter of the American Planning Association (2010)
- David A. Aloian - Robert L. Beal award for service as resident tutor, Harvard University (1998)
- Derek Bok Center Certificate of Distinction in Teaching, Harvard University (1996)
- Nominated for university-wide Joseph R. Levenson Memorial Teaching Award, Harvard University (1996)

OTHER AWARDS

- Department Executive Officers (DEO) Fellow, Rutgers Big Ten Academic Alliance (2022-23)
- Excellence in Research Award for Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) conference paper, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (2000)
- First Runner-Up for the award for best paper presented at the Urban Affairs Association Conference (2000)
- Aspen Institute Nonprofit Sector Dissertation Research fellowship \$20,000 (1997)
- U.S. Department of Housing & Urban Development Dissertation Research Fellowship \$15,000 (1997)
- Henry Luce Fellow - 1 of 15 future US leaders selected nationally by the Henry Luce Foundation to spend year in Asia (1990-91)
- Dean's Award Recipient - 1 of 7 MBA students selected by Harvard Business School Dean and faculty for having greatest positive impact on the school (1990)
- U.S Presidential Scholar – One of 120 high school seniors selected nationally on the basis of academic achievement and leadership (1980)

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Rubin, J. (Ed). (2007). *Financing Low Income Communities: Models, Obstacles, and Future Directions*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Articles & Book Chapters

- Rubin, J.S.** (2023) The Impact of New Jersey's County Line Primary Ballots on Election Outcomes, Politics, and Policy, *Seton Hall Journal of Legislation and Public Policy*: Vol. 48: Iss. 1, Article 3. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.60095/ERRT2640> Available at: <https://scholarship.shu.edu/shlj/vol48/iss1/3>
- Wang, S. S., Goldberg, H.H. & **Rubin, J.S.** (2023). Three Tests for Bias Arising From the Design of Primary Election Ballots in New Jersey, *Seton Hall Journal of Legislation and Public Policy*: Vol. 48: Iss. 1, Article 2. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.60095/VBRU6141> Available at: <https://scholarship.shu.edu/shlj/vol48/iss1/2>
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- Rubin, J.S.** & Danley, S. (2022). Boiling the frog slowly: Reducing resistance to neoliberal education reform through window dressing strategies. *Urban Affairs Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10780874221147474>
- Rubin, J. S.** & Weber, M. (2021). Charter schools' impact on public education: Theory versus reality. In C.H. Tienken and C.A. Mullen (Eds.). *The Risky Business of Education Policy*. Routledge & Kappa Delta Pi. **Winner of 2022 "Outstanding Book Award" from Society of Professors of Education.**
- Rubin, J.S.**, Good, R.M., & Fine, M. (2020). Parental Action and Neoliberal Education Reform: Crafting a Research Agenda. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 42(4): 492-510. doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2019.1660582
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- Rubin, J.S.** & Nelson, K. (2016). Why Are Community Development Lenders Financing Charter Schools? *Shelterforce*, Winter 2015-16. https://shelterforce.org/2016/02/04/why_are_community_development_lenders_financing_charter_schools/
- McVeigh, N. & **Rubin, J.S.** (2014). Loans, Loan Guarantees, and Credit Enhancements, Chapter 12 in *New Frontiers of Philanthropy: A Guide to the New Tools and New Actors that are Reshaping Global Philanthropy and Social Investing*, Lester M. Salamon (ed), Oxford University Press.

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- Rubin, J.S.** (2008). Adaptation or Extinction? Community Development Loan Funds at a Crossroads, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 30 (2), 191-220.
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- Rubin, J.S.**, J. P. Caskey, C. Dickstein & Zielenbach, S. (2008). Assessing the Systemic Impacts of Community Development Loan Funds, U.S. Department of the Treasury, CDFI Fund Research Initiative.
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Hayes, M. S., Zhang, P., **Rubin, J.S.** (2021). State takeover of Camden schools did not improve students' academic performance. Policy Brief.

<https://www.njpp.org/publications/report/state-takeover-of-camden-schools-did-not-improve-students-academic-performance/>

Soumitra Bhuyan, S., Rittweger, A., **Rubin, J.S.**, & Cantor, J.C. (2021, May). Trends in COVID-19 Vaccination in the United States. Policy Brief. https://bloustein.rutgers.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Health_Policy_Brief_Vaccination_US_May21.pdf

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Rubin, J.S. (2022). Testimony to the Red Bank Charter Study Commission on the impact of the county line primary ballots, April 19.

Rubin, J.S. (2002). Testimony to the Holmdel Charter Study Commission on the impact of the county line primary ballots, March 16.

Rubin, J.S. (2019). Testimony to the Washington State Senate on the Rural Development and Opportunity Zone Act, March 19.
<https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/59988/>

Rubin, J.S. (2011). Testimony to the Maryland State Senate and House on the InvestMaryland program, February 16.

Rubin, J.S. (2009). Testimony on the Washington DC CAPCO Program, before Small Business Committee, District of Columbia City Council, April 3.

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Rubin, J.S. (2003). Testimony on proposed CAPCO legislation, before the Senate Finance Committee and the Senate Financial Services Committee, Rhode Island Senate.

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Rubin, J.S. (2012). CREDO's Study of Charter Schools in NJ Leaves Many Unanswered Questions, *NJ Spotlight*, December 7. <https://www.njspotlight.com/2012/12/12-06-opinion-credo-s-study-of-charter-schools-in-nj-leaves-many-unanswered-questions-Huffington-Post>, December 10, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/credos-study-of-charter_b_2273018

- Rubin, J.S.** (2011). It's Time to Repair New Jersey's Broken Charter School Law, *NJ Spotlight*, October 12, 2011. <https://www.njspotlight.com/2011/10/11-1012-1519/>
- Rubin, J.S.** and D. Sandler (2009). "Stop Giving Away Texas Tax Funds as Venture Capital." *Houston Chronicle*, Sunday, May 16.
- Rubin, J.S.** (2003). "\$100 Million Transfer from R.I. Citizens," *Providence Journal* op-ed, April 30.
- Rubin, J.S.** (2003). "CAPCO Not the Answer for State's Capital Needs," *Providence Business News* op-ed, May 5-11.
- Rubin, J.S.** & Stankiewicz, G. (2002). "Development Bank Useful Despite Missteps," *Los Angeles Daily News* op-ed, May 13, page A15.
- Rubin, J.S.** (2005). Review of Karl F. Seidman's book, Economic Development Finance, for *Journal of the American Planning Association* (2005), Vol. 71, No. 4, pp. 469-470, Autumn.
- Rubin, J.S.** (2001). Community Development Venture Capital: A Double-Bottom Line Approach to Poverty Alleviation. *Proceedings of the April 2001 Changing Financing Markets and Community Development, Second Federal Reserve Community Affairs Conference*, pp. 121-154. Washington, DC: Federal Reserve System.
- Rubin, J.S.** (2001). "Community Development Venture Capital: A New Approach to Economic Development and Poverty Alleviation," *Making Waves*, 11 (4).
- Markley, D., Barkley, D., Freshwater, D., Shaffer, R., and **Rubin, J.S.** (1999). A National Snapshot of Rural Equity Market Innovation. In *Equity for Rural America: From Wall Street to Main Street*, Proceedings of the October 8-9, 1998 Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City conference. Kansas City, MO: Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City.
- Rubin, J.S.** & Tesdell, K. (1999). Community Development Venture Capital, *Community Affairs News Brief*, New York State Banking Department, Fall.
- Tesdell, K. & **Rubin, J.S.** (1998). Community Development Venture Capital: A Powerful Tool for Economic Development and Poverty Alleviation, *Community Investments*, San Francisco Federal Reserve, Fall.

TEACHING

Graduate

- Rutgers University, Edward J. Bloustein School of Planning and Policy
 - Advanced Qualitative Research Methods (2003 - 2011& 2017 - 2022)
 - Management of Nonprofit Organizations (2003 - 2023)
 - Education Policy (2017- 2020)
 - Managing People and Organizations (2006 – 2016)
 - Community Economic Development (2004 - 2016)
 - Practicum for MPP program (2010-2012)
- Princeton University, School of Public and International Affairs
 - Management of Nonprofit Organizations (2012 - 2023)
- Assumption University, MBA Program, Bangkok, Thailand
 - Strategic Management (1990-1991)

Undergraduate

- Rutgers University, Edward J. Bloustein School of Planning and Policy
 - Nonprofit Management (2012 - 2019)
 - Urban Poverty (2005)

- Brown University, *Post-Doctoral Fellow.*
Community Economic Development (2003)
Issues Facing Our Cities (2002)
- Harvard University, *Teaching Assistant.*
Sociology 143: American Society and Public Policy (1996)
- Assumption University BA Program, Bangkok, Thailand, *Visiting Professor Marketing* (1990-1991)

Executive

- Rutgers School of Management & Labor Relations, Senior Care Management: Governance for Nonprofits (2019)
- Community Development Venture Capital Alliance, NY, NY (1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2004 & 2005).
- National Community Capital Association, Memphis, TN (2001).
- FDIC Division of Compliance and Consumer Affairs, Kansas City, MO (2000).
- Northwest Community Development Academy, Port Ludlow, WA (5/1999).

Independent Studies/Thesis

- 2022: Molly Basdeo Mountjoy
- 2022: Garin Bulger, MPP
- 2021: Erin Clifford, MPP
- 2021: Julia McMillan, BA (Thesis methods mentor)
- 2020: Priscilla Arias, PhD
- 2019: Breana Stevens, MPP
- 2018: Vanessa Raymond, 3-1-1
- 2018: Holly Low, MPP
- 2017: Storm Ervin, MPP
- 2016: Loannie Dao, MCRP
- 2016: Deanna Moran, MPP/MCRP
- 2015: Tara Marlowe, MPAP
- 2015: Matthew Rigney, MCRP
- 2013: Jame Bolds, MPAP
- 2013: Mirae Kim, PhD
- 2012: Kristin Crandall, MCRP/MPP
- 2011: Eric Tuvel, MCRP/MPP
- 2010: Andrew Zitcer, PhD
- 2008: Adam Steinberg, PhD
- 2006: Deborah Borie-Holtz, PhD
- 2004: Mary Kate Feeney, MPP

Ph.D. Dissertation Committee Member

- Janet Venancio Rodriguez (2023 - present)
- Edwin Cooper (2017 - present) Chair
- Robin McKeon (2019 - present)
- Christine Lyon (2019 - 2022)
- Cathy Wang (2018 - 2022) Chair
- Ajay Srikanth (2020 - 2022)
- Maia de la Calle (2018 - 2020)

- Stephen Coffin (2017 - 2019)
- David Hersh (2015 - 2019)
- Miguelina Rodriguez (2017 - 2019)
- Mark Weber (2017 - 2018)
- Bryan P Brady (2007 - 2017)
- Jeffrey Doshna (2011 - 2015), Chair
- Jennifer Senick (2012 - 2015)
- Adam Steinberg (2009 - 2014)
- Andrew Zitcer (2011 - 2013)
- Leah Yasenchak (2009 - 2013)
- Jack Anderson (2010 - 2011)
- Shawntel Hines (2010 - 2010)
- Stephen Dixon (2009 - 2013)
- Uma Krishnan (2006 - present)
- Matt Bauer (2011 - 2012)
- Samonne Walker (2009 - 2011)
- Hyunsoo Park (2005 - 2010)
- Uma Krishnan (2006 - 2009)

Ph.D. Academic Advising

- Garin Bulger (2023 – present)
- Molly Basdeo Mountjoy (2021 – present)
- Priscilla Arias (2018 - present)
- Janet Venancio Rodriguez (2020 - 2023)
- Maia de la Calle (2016 - 2018)
- Cathy Wang (2016 - 2017)
- Katie Nelson (2015 - 2016)
- Edwin Cooper (2009 - 2017)
- Andrew Zitcer (2008 - 2011)
- Samonne Walker (2007 - 09)
- Deborah Borie-Holtz (2006 - 07)
- Gene Foley (2006 - 07)
- Jeffrey Doshna (2003 - 2006)

Doctoral Methods Examiner

2022: **7** (Sean Andrew Chen; Angela Johnson; Anna Krupitskiy; Triparnee Kushari; Lina Moe; Molly Basdeo Mountjoy; Nasha Virata)

2020: **5** (Lauren Nolan; Priscilla Arias; Wei San Loh; Laura Geronimo; Josephine Nkurunziza)

2019: **8** (Jamie Kwon, Ye Yao, Lucas Marxen, Edrice Robinson-Wyatt, Jessica Paolini, Pranay Kumar, Stephanie Holcomb, Ellen White)

2018: **7** (Annie Lee, Frank Halprin, Holly Berman, David Seith, Sergei Kostiaev, Sicheng Wang, Vidhi Waran)

2017: **8** (Ahmer Qadeer, Elaine Zundl, Diren Kocakuşak, Yun Suk Lee, Or Caspi, Nathan Foote, Evan Iacobucci, Marsha Tonkovich)

2016: **9** (Ioanna Tsouloiu; Amy Rosenthal; Nicolas Vergara Arribas; Sujee Jung; Maia de la Calle; Katie Nelson; Aretousa Bloom; Suzy Jung; Da Fei)

2015: **3** (Gayatri Gadag; Ahmer Qadeer; Yemi Adediji)

2014: **5** (Allison Bridges, Carla Coronado, Sana Ahmad, Victoria Porterfield, Matt Campo)

2013: **6** (Cathy Wang, Evan Casper Futterman, Maryam Zarnani, Brian Baldor, Handi Chandra, Jonathan Stiles)

2012: **15** (Orin Puniello, George Kimmerle, Avery Peng, Ryan Good, David Hersh, Tim MacKinnon, Rahul Jain, Angie Oberg, Maryam Zarnani, Maggie D'Aversa, Morgan Campbell, Gina Bienski, Shankar Chandramowli, Mirabel Chen, Lee Marisa Polonsky)

2011: **2** (Brian Stromberg, Miguelina Rodriguez)

2006: **11** (Erica Avrami, Louis Balula, Alan Cander, Betty Chang, Richard Rabinowitz, Randy Solomon, Sharon Pinnelas, Marci Berger, Corianne Scally, Collette Barrow, Debra Brucker)

2005: **2** (Jeremy Nemeth, Monica Taylor)

2004: **4** (Anna Batista, Laura Pangallozzi, Rolando Herts, Carol Cronheim)

Doctoral Theory Examiner

2023: **3** Priscilla Arias; Molly Basdeo Mountjoy; Janet Venancio Rodriguez

2019: **3** Mike Atzbi (GSE); Christy Lyon (GSE); Robin McKeon (GSE)

2017: **2** Maia Delacalle; Mark Weber (GSE)

2016: **1** Stephen Coffin (GSE)

2014: **2** David Hersh; Jonathan Stile

2011: **1** Edwin Cooper,

2010: **1** Andrew Zitcer

2009: **1** Samonne Walker; Adam Steinberg

Internships/Professional Paper Advising

2022 – Asia Marche, MCRP

2018 - Jane Allen, MPP/MCRP

2017 - Patrick Clark, MPP/MCRP

2016 - Loannie Dao, MCRP

2011 - Quincy Bell, MCRP

2011 - Cara Purcell, MCRP

2010 - Erika Hill, MCRP

2006 - Chivas Covert, MCRP

2006 - Jessica Giorgianni, MCRP.

2006 - Emily R. Goldman, MCRP (Professional Paper)

2005 - Justin Auciello, MCRP (Professional Paper)

2005 - Sarah Dubinsky, MPAP

2005 - Petra Todorovich, MCRP

Applied Field Experience Internship Advising

2010: **5** (Steven Xenakis; Casey Astringer; Nakeefa Bernard; Maria De Fazio; Kim El-Sadek)

2009: **4** (Peter Grof; Sara Meyers; Marissa Mayers; Sara Pooley)

2008: **4** (Judy Martinez, Amanda Bent; Altaf Rahamatulla; Michelle Sloan)
2007: **1** (Leah Apgar)
2006: **2** (Allison Harris; Jeff Crum)

2023-24: **34** MPP/MCRP - Abigail Alcala; Alyssa King; Ashley Montuoro; Brooke Schwartzman; Carolina Torres; Catherine Sackey; Cecilia Salazar; Christian Owen; Claudia Cruz; Daniel Cohen; Daniel Jefferson; Emily Evers; Fiorella Caro; Gabi Rubinstein; Luis Fernando Jimenez; Maia Hill; Naeemah Jones; Nashia Basit; Sahar Khan Sherwani; Stephen Keffer; Tyler Mengel; Umer Farooq; Yi Gao; Zachary Kourgialis. MPAP: Caitlin Boyle; Chiara Nodari; Hyoun Joo Kim; Mayrose Wegmann; Robert Hayes; Soyoung Kim. PP Certificates: Afia Mensah; Carolina Torres; Karleen Aghevli; Meghan Howard-Noveck.

2022-23: **30** MPP/MCRP - Nashia Basit; Daniel Jefferson; Luis Jimenez; Zachary Kourgialis; Brooke Schwartzman. MPP - Abigail Alcala; Fiorella Caro; Daniel Cohen; Hannah Goldston; Anna Heckler; Maia Hill; Tyler Mengel; Iman Mustafa; Chelsie Riche; Catherine Sackey; Cecilia Salazar; Sahar Sherwani; Arslan Tariq; Aogay Alozai Wardak. MPAP - Caitlin Boyle; Janae Solomon; Nicholas Stango; Mayrose Wegmann; Kyoungjae Choi; Minsu Han; Daeyoung Kim; Seung Woo Lee; Yunkyoung Lee; Hyoun Joo Kim; Soyoung Kim.

2021-22: **18** Garin Bulger (MPP), Kermina Hanna (3-1-1), Saquiba Aziz (MPP), Nashia Basit (MPP/MCRP), Anna Heckler (MPP), Daniel Jefferson (MPP/MCRP), Zachary Kourgialis (MPP/MCRP), Adia Ledbetter (MPP), Hyojin Lee (MPP/MCRP), Iman Mustafa (MPP), Chelsie Riche (MPP), Brooke Schwartzman (MPP/MCRP), Arslan Tariq (MPP), Kyoungjae Choi (MPAP), Minsu Han (MPAP), Daeyoung Kim (MPAP), Seung Woo Lee (MPAP), Yunkyoung Lee (MPAP).

2020-21: **10** Abygail Mangar (MPP/MCRP), Deja Dennis (MPP), Eashwayne Haughton (MPP), Erin Clifford (MPP), Jessica Duford (MPP); Munsif Husami (MPP), Adriana Scanteianu (3-1-1); Garin Bulger (MPP); Kermina Hanna (3-1-1), Saquiba Aziz (MPP)

2019-20: **8** Annette Ritchie (MPP/MCRP), Drew McClendon (MPP), Abygail Mangar (MPP/MCRP), Deja Dennis (MPP), Eashwayne Haughton (MPP), Erin Clifford (MPP), Jessica Dufort (MPP), Mansif Husami (MPP)

2018-19: **12** Priscilla Arias (MPAP), Rafay Kazmi (MPP/MCRP), Vanessa Raymond (3-1-1), Caroline Milliken (MPP/MCRP), Evan Frisia (MPP/MCRP), Drew McClendon (MPP), Annette Ritchie (MPP/MCRP), Fope Idowu (MPP), Kellie Polomba (MPP/MCRP), Alex Barree (MPP), Jane Allen (MPP/MCRP), Darma Ie (MPAP)

2017-18: **14** Rafay Kazmi (MPP/MCRP), Jazmyne McNeese (MPP), Daniyal Rahim (MPP), Sheikh Waqas (MPP), Vanessa Raymond (3-1-1), Evan Frisia (MPP/MCRP), Caroline Milliken (MPP/MCRP), Kellie Polomba (MPP/MCRP), Alex Barree (MPP), Liana Volpe (MPP), Zoe Linder-Baptie (MPP/MCRP), Jane Allen (MPP/MCRP), Fope Idowu (MPP), Darma Ie (MPAP)

2016-17: **14** Patrick Clark (MPP/MCRP), Jane Allen (MPP/MCRP), Kellie Polomba (MPP/MCRP), Edward Amador (MPP), Yan Huang (MPP), Vanessa Raymond (MPP), Sheikh Waqas (MPP), Rafay Kazmi (MPP), Jazmyne McNeese (MPP), Daniyal Rahim (MPP), Liana Volpe (MPP), Darma Ie (MPAP), Alex Barree (MPP), Rena Sherman (MPP); Lorena Guadiana (MPP/MCRP)

2015-16: **7** Deanna Moran (MPP/MCRP); Megan Loeb (MPP/MCRP); Patrick Clark (MPP/MCRP); Edward Amador (MPP); Jane Allen (MPP/MCRP); Kellie Polomba (MPP/MCRP); Yan Huang (MPP); Lorena Guadiana (MPP/MCRP)

2014-15: **6** Deanna Moran (MPP/MCRP); Megan Loeb (MPP/MCRP); Graie Barasch-Hagans (MPP); Patrick Clark (MPP/MCRP); Tara Marlowe (MPAP); Meera Ananth (MPP)

2013-14: **9** Deanne Moran (MPP/MCRP); Megan Loeb (MPP/MCRP); Graie Barasch-Hagans (MPP); Makeda Marshall (MCRP); Shirley Ho (MPP/MBA); Yao Zhang (MPP); Monete Johnson (MPP); Jiamin (Cindy) He (MPP); Meera Ananth (MPP)

2012-13: **8** Yao Zhang (MPP); Monete Johnson (MPP); Jiamin (Cindy) He (MPP); Meera Ananth (MPP); Bo Choi (MPP/MCRP); Scott Bruckner (MPP); Katherine Centore (MPP); Vanessa Kelly (MPP)

2011-12: **6** Scott Bruckner (MPP); Katherine Centore (MPP); Vanessa Kelly (MPP); Dawn Nicholson (MPP); Otoufon Inyang (MPP); Elisa Baeza (MPP)

2010-11: **10** Otoufon Inyang (MPP); Elisa Baeza (MPP); Elsie Sheidler (MPAP); Maria De Fazio (MPP); James Bolds (MPAP); Rrezarta Veseli (MPP); Paula Best (MPAP); Crista Dilalo (MPP/MCRP); Dara Georgiyeva (MPP); Daniel Kravitz (MPP)

2009-10: **9** Tara Roche (MPP); Maria De Fazio (MPP); James Bolds (MPAP); Rrezarta Veseli (MPP); Paula Best (MPAP); Crista Dilalo (MPP/MCRP); Daria Georgiyeva (MPP); Daniel Kravitz (MPP); Steven Xenakis (MPP)

2008-2009: **10** Arielle Woronoff (MPP); Peter Manda (MPAP); Steven Xenaxis (MPP); Peter Grof (MPP); Sara Meyers (MPP); Saesha Carlile (MPP); James Bolds (MPAP); Paula Best (MPAP); Christa Dilalo (MPP/MCRP); Marissa Mayers (MPP)

2007-2008: **10** Marybeth Brenner (MPAP); Altaf Rahamatulla (MPP); Dina Rice (MPP); Corinne Wisniewski (MPP); Arielle Woronoff (MPP); Daria Georgiyeva (MPP); Peter Manda (MPP); Judy Martinez (MPP); Kelvin Oliver (MPP); Steven Xenaxis (MPP)

2006-2007: **6** Leah Apgar (MPP); Marybeth Brenner (MPAP); Altaf Rahamatulla (MPP); Dina Rice (MPP); Corinne Wisniewski (MPP); Steven Xenaxis (MPP)

2005-2006: **10** Leah Apgar (MPP); Marybeth Brenner (MPAP); Allison Harris (MPP); Jeff Crum (MPP); Tiffany Turner (MPP); Matthew Camp (MPP); Chivas Covert (MCRP); Jessica Giorgianni (MCRP); Joseph V. Palazzolo (MPP); Naemah Sarmad-Frederick (MCRP).

2004-05: **13** Allison Harris (MPP); Jeff Crum (MPP); Tiffany Turner (MPP); Matthew Camp (MPP); Laura Wollin-Wood (MPP); James Crowder (MPP); Chivas Covert (MCRP); Jessica Giorgianni (MCRP); Ayseful Cerci (Humphrey); Fatima Yasmin (Humphrey); special concentration advisor for Ramond Joseph (MCRP); Megan McKeever (MPP); Allison Kopicki (MPP)

2003-2004: **3** Allison Kopicki (MPP); Kimberly Kierstead (MPP); Sabrina Glavin (MCRP)

PRESENTATIONS AT ACADEMIC CONFERENCES

- Rubin, J. S. (2022). "The Use of Window Dressing Strategies in the State Takeover and Dramatic Reshaping of the Camden City School District." Urban Affairs Association, Washington, D.C., April.
- Rubin, J.S. (2022). "Standing up for Public Education: How Parents, Students and Teachers Have Fought Privatization and Other Aspects of Neoliberal Education Reform," panel organizer & presenter of research paper "Parental Action and Neoliberal Education Reform," Network for Public Education, Philadelphia, April.
- Rubin, J. S. (2019) "Resistance to Neoliberal Education Reform." Plenary Presentation, Rutgers Education Reform, Communities & Social Justice Research Conference, May.

- Weber, M. & J. S. Rubin (2018) "New Jersey Charter Schools: Examining Patterns of Growth and Segregation." Rutgers Education Reform, Communities & Social Justice Research Conference, May.
- Rubin, J. S. (2018) "Parental Organizing to Shape Education Policy: The Case of Save Our Schools NJ," American Educational Research Association (AERA) Conference. New York, April.
- Rubin, J. S. (2018) "Slap Suits and Fake Ethics Complaints: The Tactics of Vulture Hedge Funds and Market-Based Education Reformers," UAA Conference, Toronto, April.
- Rubin, J. S. (2018) "Statewide Organizing." The Fight for America's Schools: Grassroots Activism in Education colloquium, Urban Affairs Association, Toronto, April.
- Rubin, J. S. & K. Nelson (2017) "Why Community Development Lenders Support Charter Schools, Even When the Communities They Serve May Not." Rutgers Education Reform, Communities & Social Justice Research Conference, May.
- Rubin, J. S. (2017) "Grassroots Parental Organizing Can Bridge Economic, Racial and Geographic Divides: The Case of Save Our Schools NJ." UAA Conference, Minneapolis, April.
- Rubin, J. S. & K. Nelson (2017) "Why Community Development Lenders Support Charter Schools, Even When the Communities they Serve May Not." UAA Conference, Minneapolis, April.
- Rubin, J. S. (2017) "Activist Scholarship Special Session: Civic Engagement, Institutional Relations, Resource Delivery & Education." Facilitated with Sabina Chiaka Osuji, Nick Finio, Catherine Guimond & Rebecca Frances Kemper. UAA Conference, Minneapolis, April.
- Rubin, J.S. (2016) "Neoliberalism and Efforts to Silence Dissent and Academic Freedom: Case Studies Inside/Outside the University," Symposium with Carolyne White, Michelle Fine, Guy Senese. 12th International Congress of Qualitative Inquiry, Champaign-Urbana, IL, May.
- Rubin, J. S. (2016) "The Impact of Charter Schools on Suburban Communities: The Case of Red Bank, NJ." Rutgers Education Reform, Communities and Social Justice Research Conference, May.
- Rubin, J. S. (2016) "Mobilizing for Diversity and Inclusion." Rutgers University Symposium on Scholarship on Diversity & Inclusion: Current Findings and Future Considerations, New Brunswick, April.
- Rubin, J. S. (2016) "The Intersection of Education & Social Justice: Mapping the Research and Advocacy Fields." Facilitated with Barbara Ferman and Ryan M. Good. UAA Conference, San Diego, March.
- Rubin, J. S. (2015) Workshop on Urban Education Policy Advocacy. Facilitated with William Ellis, Kitty Kelly Epstein, Barbara Ferman and Kimberly Mayfield-Lynch. UAA Conference, Miami, April.
- Danley, S. & J. S. Rubin (2015) "Standing Up with a Foot on My Neck: Opposition to Public Education Privatization in Camden and Newark, NJ." UAA Conference, Miami, April.
- Danley, S. & J. S. Rubin (2014) "Standing Up with a Foot on My Neck: Opposition to Public Education Privatization in Camden and Newark, NJ," Mid-Atlantic Law and Society Association Conference, Philadelphia, October.
- Rubin, J. S. (2009) "All Underserved Markets Are Not Created Equal: Why the Private Sector Alone Will Not Address the Capital Needs of Distressed US Communities," UAA Conference, Chicago, March.

- Rubin, J. S. (2008) "Community Development Venture Capital in Rural Communities," *CDFI Fund Research Conference*, Washington, D.C., June.
- Rubin, J. S. (2008) "Assessing the Systematic Impact of Community Development Loan Funds," *CDFI Fund Research Conference*, Washington, D.C., June.
- Rubin, J. S. (2007) "All Developmental Venture Capital Is Not Created Equal: Why the Rhetoric of Emerging Domestic Markets Hurts Distressed Communities," Harvard University Research Symposium on New Finance for America's Cities, Cambridge, MA. December.
- Rubin, J. S. (2007) "Community Development Venture Capital: Past, Present and Future," UAA Conference, Seattle, April.
- Rubin, J. S. (2006) "Adaptation or Extinction? Community Development Financial Institutions at a Crossroads." UAA Conference, Montreal, April.
- Rubin, J. S. (2004) "Financing Organizations with Debt and Equity: Community Development Venture Capital and Loan Funds," Federal Reserve's Community Development Finance Conference, Washington, D.C., December.
- Rubin, J. S. (2004) "Understanding Corporate-Led Urban Renewal: The Case of New Brunswick, New Jersey," Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) annual conference, Atlanta, October.
- Rubin, J. S. (2004) "A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to New Markets: Implementing and Managing the New Markets Initiatives," UAA Conference, Washington, D.C., April.
- Rubin, J. S. (2003) "A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to New Markets: Implementing and Managing the New Markets Initiatives," Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) annual conference, Washington, D.C., November.
- Rubin, J. S. (2003) "Evaluating the Impact of Federal Community Economic Development Policies on their Targeted Populations: The Case of the New Markets Initiatives," *Sustainable Community Development: What Works, What Doesn't and Why*, 3rd Federal Reserve System Community Affairs research conference, Washington D.C., March.
- Rubin, J. S. (2003) "Community development financial institutions: Current issues and future prospect," *Sustainable Community Development: What Works, What Doesn't and Why*, 3rd Federal Reserve System Community Affairs research conference, Washington D.C., March.
- Rubin, J.S. (2002) "Organizations Operating on the Institutional Cusp: The Case of Community Development Venture Capital," *Academy of Management*, Denver, CO, August.
- Rubin, J.S. (2001) "Where Do Hybrid Organizations Come From? What the Developmental Venture Capital Industry Can Teach Us About New Field Formation," *Academy of Management*, Washington, D.C., August.
- Rubin, J.S. (2001) "Community Development Venture Capital: Balancing Financial and Social Objectives," UAA conference, Detroit, April.
- Rubin, J.S. (2001) "Community Development Venture Capital: A Double-Bottom Line Approach to Poverty Alleviation," *Changing Financing Markets and Community Development*, 2nd Federal Reserve System Community Affairs research conference, Washington D.C, April.
- Stankiewicz, G. & Rubin, J.S. (2000) "The Los Angeles Community Development Bank: When Money and Good Intentions Are Not Enough," Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) annual conference, Seattle, November.
- Rubin, J.S. (2000) "Balancing Conflicting Institutional Logics: The Case of Developmental Venture Capital and the Triple Bottom Line," *Academy of Management*, Toronto, August.
- Rubin, J.S. & Stankiewicz, G. (2000) "The Los Angeles Community Development Bank: When Money and Good Intentions Are Not Enough," UAA Conference, L.A., May.
- Rubin, J.S. (1999) "Is Sector Irrelevant in Cross-Sector Organizations?" ARNOVA Conference, Arlington, VA, November.

- Rubin, J.S. (1999) "It's the Mission, Stupid: The Case of Developmental Venture Capital and Why Sector Doesn't Matter," *Academy of Management*, Chicago, August.
- Rubin, J.S. (1999) "Venture Capital and Inner-City Revitalization: Comparing Two Approaches," *Academy of Management*, Chicago, August.
- Rubin, J.S. (1999) "Community Development Venture Capital: Balancing Financial and Social Objectives," *Babson College-Kauffman Foundation Entrepreneurship* research conference, Columbia, SC, May.
- Rubin, J.S. (1999) "Community Development Venture Capital: Using Public & Private Means to Build Community & Fight Poverty in the Inner City," *UAA*, Louisville, KY, April.
- Rubin, J.S. (1999) "Community Development Venture Capital: A Study of Cross-Sector Organizations," *Independent Sector Spring* research forum, Alexandria, VA, March.
- Rubin, J.S. (1998) Invited discussant for a panel on Community Development Financial Institutions, *Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM)* annual conference, New York, October.
- Rubin, J.S. (1998) "Community Development Venture Capital: The Conflict of Capitalism and Democracy," *Academy of Management*, San Diego, August.
- Rubin, J.S. (1998) "Public Policy and High Growth Firms: The Role of Institutional Forces in the Creation and Growth of Hybrid Social Enterprises," *Babson College-Kauffman Foundation Entrepreneurship* research conference, Gent, Belgium, May.

SESSION/CONFERENCE ORGANIZER

- Education Policy, Communities and Social Justice Research Conference, 2016 – present, Conference organizer.
- Community Development Finance Conference organized with sponsorship from the New York, Philadelphia and Cleveland Federal Reserve Banks, December 2004. Conference organizer.
- *Urban Affairs Association* annual meeting, Boston, MA, March 2002. "Funding Innovation in the Inner City." Organizer and chair of colloquy.
- *Academy of Management* annual meeting, Chicago, IL, August 1999. "Social Enterprise: Organizational Evolution, or Much Ado About Nothing?" Organizer and chair of symposium jointly sponsored by the entrepreneurship and public and nonprofit divisions.
- *Academy of Management* annual meeting, San Diego, CA, August 1998. Rubin, J. & Backman, E., "Operating on the Institutional Cusp: Managing Symbolic and Cognitive Conflict." Organizer and co-chair of symposium jointly sponsored by the organization and management theory, managerial and organizational cognition, and public and nonprofit divisions.

RECENT INVITED PRESENTATIONS

2023

- Princeton University, SPIA in NJ, Restoring Real Choice at the Ballot: The Future of Fusion Voting in New Jersey, November 15.
- Seton Hall Law Legislative Journal Symposium: Ballots and Democracy: A New Scholarly Agenda, February 24.

2022

- Fairleigh Dickinson University's Florham Institute for Lifelong Learning, October 13.
- New Jersey American Promise, March 22.
- Madison Democratic Municipal Committee, March 9.

2021

- Maplewood Democratic Municipal Committee, December 2.
- Mt Laurel Democratic Club, November 16.
- Our Revolution, Middlesex, September 30.
- Trenton Democratic Municipal Committee, September 30.
- Princeton Graduate Student Government, September 8.
- ACLU New Jersey Board and Executive Staff members, August 25.
- Our Children, Our Schools, Education Law Center, August 18.
- Women for Progress, New Jersey, August 18.
- Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism (RAC) NJ, August 13.
- Our Revolution, Trenton, August 6.
- A Critical Look at the NJ Primary Process with Julia Sass Rubin, Blue Wave NJ, June 29.
https://us02web.zoom.us/webinar/register/WN_eZMJRjVNQJCqU1ed5x2PYQ
- Walking the Line: New Jersey Ballots, Candidates, and Voters," Eagleton Institute of Politics/Bloustein School, June 24. <https://eagleton.rutgers.edu/event/walking-the-line-new-jersey-ballots-candidates-and-voters/>
- Plenary Speaker, Rutgers Honors College, March 4.
- Harrison Township Democratic Committee," February 17.
- League of Women Voters of New Jersey, February 11.
- "How to Present Your Work." Doctoral Program Seminar Series. Edward J. Bloustein School, Feb 2. (with T. Swedberg).

2020

- Princeton Community Democratic Organization, December 13.
- "Does the County Line Matter? An Analysis of New Jersey's 2020 Primary Election Results." Keynote Address, Progressive Democrats of NJ State Convention, November 14.
- Robbinsville Democratic Club, September 24.
- Barnegat Democratic Club, July 22.
- Hamilton Public Library, February 15.
- "New Jersey Campaign Finance and Dark Money," Democracy Forum, Edward J. Bloustein School, February 8.
- "Parental Resistance to Neoliberal Education Reform." Doctoral Program Seminar Series. Edward J. Bloustein School, Oct 14.
- Rossmoor's Democratic Club, Monroe, July 15.

2019

- Princeton Community Democratic Organization, June 17.
- Cooper River Indivisible, Collingswood, May 16.
- Indivisible Forum, Monroe NJ Public Library, Mar 27.
- Moderator, "Social Policy Panel." Krueckeberg Doctoral Conference in Urban Studies, Urban Planning & Public Policy, Bloustein School, Mar 7.
- Fixing New Jersey's Broken Political System Forum, Cherry Hill, NJ, Mar 2.

- Testimony to the Washington State Senate on the Rural Development and Opportunity Zone Act, Mar 19. Available at <https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/59988/>
- “Grassroots Activism,’ Taking Charge of Change.” Women’s Leadership Coalition Conference, Rutgers University, Mar 29.

2018

- Moderator, “Changemaker Panel.” Rutgers Women’s Leadership Coalition Conference, Rutgers University. 3/23.
- Moderator, “Leading Their Communities: Exploring Women’s Impact in Entrepreneurial Roles.” Bloustein - Steiman Lecture Series. Rutgers University. 2/20.
- “The 3 Rs of Volunteer Management: Recruit, Retain and Recognize.” Princeton Community Works Conference, Princeton University, 1/29
- “Election Issues and Voting Rights in New Jersey.” STAND Forum, Titusville, NJ, 1/27

2017

- Moderator, “Community and Economic Development Alumni Panel.” Bloustein School, Rutgers University, 11/2.
- “Discursive and Demographic Dysfunction, or Why It Is So Hard to Decide What the Facts Are.” Critical Issues in Information and Education, Seton Hall University Libraries Speaker Series, Seton Hall University, 9/12.
- “Mobilizing Parents to Influence Education,” Education Writers Association National Conference, Washington D.C., 6/1.
- “Examining the Systems that Drive Inequity in Public Education & What We Can Do About It.” Commemorating Brown v. Board of Education Conference, Rutgers Law School Newark, NJ, 5/13.
- “School Funding, Segregation, and Social Justice.” Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ. 4/13.
- “Quick Management Primer.” Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ. 4/6.
- with Gregory Stankiewicz, “Public School Funding, Segregation, & Equity: What It Means for Our Communities.” Harvard Club, Princeton, NJ, 4/2.
- “Bridging the Divide: Working with Opposing Viewpoints,” Speak Up, Speak Out: Advocating for Yourself and Others Women’s Leadership Coalition Conference, Rutgers University, 3/24.
- “Using the Law to Achieve Thorough, Efficient, and Desegregated Schools: Celebrating the Career of Professor Emeritus Paul Trachtenberg.” Invited panelist with NJ Supreme Court Chief Justice Deborah Poritz, Associate Justice Gary Stein, Prof. Elise Boddie, and David Sciarra, Executive Director Education Law Center, Rutgers Law School, Newark, 3/22.
- Moderator, “Education and Social Policy Panel,” Krueckeberg Doctoral Conference in Urban Studies, Urban Planning, and Public Policy, Bloustein School, Rutgers University, 3/9.
- “Charter School Funding.” New Jersey Education Policy Agenda for the Next Gubernatorial Administration Conference. Edward J. Bloustein School, Rutgers University, 2/10.

2016

- Moderator: “Community Development Alumni Panel.” Bloustein School, Rutgers University. 11/29.
- “Doing Research in a Community,” Doctoral Program Seminar Series. Edward J. Bloustein School, Rutgers University, 10/17.
- “Our Voices Matter” Gubernatorial Forum, New Jersey Young Democrats of America

Black Caucus, Somerset, NJ, 9/10.

- Invited participant, "Roundtable on Future Research Directions for the New Markets Tax Credit Program." Urban Institute, 4/8.
- "Are New Jersey Charter Schools Underfunded Relative to District Schools?" Rutgers Graduate School of Education Speaker Series, 3/9.

2014

- "Protecting the 'Public' In Public Policy: The Growing Privatization of the Public Realm," Edward J. Bloustein School Panel, 11/11.
- Moderator, "Community and Economic Development Alumni Panel." Bloustein School, Rutgers University, 11/10.
- Moderator, "Neighborhood Revitalization Tax Credit: Furthering Community Development and Neighborhood Change in NJ." Bloustein School Alumni Association, Trenton, NJ, 10/28.
- Moderator, "Amplifying Voices of Color: How to be Heard When No One's Listening," Woodrow Wilson School's 18th Annual Students and Alumni of Color Symposium, 4/6.

RESEARCH FUNDING

Public Digital Library of New Jersey Ballots. **Principal Co-Investigator with Ronald Chen**. Funder: Rutgers Law School Pratt Fund. 2023. Grant Amount: \$50,000.

Democracy Research. **Principal Investigator**. Funder: New Jersey Police Perspective. 2022. Grant Amount: \$10,000.

New Jersey COVID-19 Impact Study. **Principal Co-Investigator with Soumitra Bhuyan and Joel Cantor**. Funder: Bloustein School's Healthy Communities seed grant program, round 2. 2020-21. Grant Amount: \$25,000.

New Jersey Charter School Demographics. **Principal Investigator**. Funder: The Daniel Tanner Foundation. Conducted analysis of New Jersey charter school demographics. 2017-18. Grant Amount: \$5,550.

Impact of Charter Schools on Suburban Communities: The Case of Red Bank, NJ. **Principal Investigator** Funder: The Daniel Tanner Foundation. Conducted in-depth case study of Red Bank Charter School's impact on the Red Bank community. 2015-16. Grant Amount: \$10,000.

New Jersey Charter School Demographics, Finances, and Funding. **Principal Investigator**. Funder: The Daniel Tanner Foundation. Researched and authored/co-authored three reports on New Jersey charter school demographics, finances, and funding. 2014-16. Grant Amount: \$10,000.

Assessing the Systemic Impacts of Community Development Loan Funds. **Principal investigator**. Funder: Community Development Financial Institutions Fund, US Department of the Treasury. Lead a four-person team that conducted interviews with industry leaders and two dozen case studies of Community Development Loan Funds to identify and assess their systemic impacts on conventional financial institutions, philanthropic institutions, public agencies, and public policy. 2007-2008. Grant Amount: \$100,000.

Community Development Venture Capital in Rural Communities. **Principal Investigator**. Funder: Community Development Financial Institutions Fund, US Department of the Treasury. Collected and analyzed in-depth data from 35 organizations that invest developmental venture capital in rural geographies. 2007-2008. Grant Amount: \$45,000.

Examination of Outcomes Resulting from Undocumented Aspects of Community Development Loan Funds' Operations. **Principal Investigator.** Funder: Edward J. Bloustein School Grants to Get Grants Program. 2007. Grant Amount: \$2,500.

Community Development Venture Capital. **Principal Investigator.** Funder: Community Development Venture Capital Alliance. 2006. Grant Amount: \$6,000

Community Development Venture Capital. **Principal Investigator.** Funder: Aspen Institute Nonprofit Sector Research Fund. 1997. Grant Amount: \$20,000.

Community Development Venture Capital. **Principal Investigator.** Funder: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Dissertation Research Grant. 1997. Amount: \$15,000.

Harvard Business School Dissertation Award. 1997. Grant Amount: \$10,000.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Urban Affairs Association

Executive Board Nominating Committee (2021-2024)

Reviewer

Economic Development Quarterly

Journal of Business Ethics

Journal of Planning Education and Research

Journal of Urban Affairs

Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly

Rutgers University Press

State and Local Government Review

Urban Affairs Review Editorial Board (2011-14)

Urban Education

Venture Capital: An International Journal of Entrepreneurial Finance

Rutgers University

- New Brunswick Campus Teaching Evaluation Council Working Group, convened by Vice Provost for Academic Affairs James Swenson (2019-2021)
- Sakai/Canvas transition university-wide committee – one of two faculty reps (2019)
- New Brunswick Faculty Council Executive Committee (November 2017 – May 2018)
- New Brunswick Faculty Council (May 2016 – May 2018)
- Infosilem university-wide implementation committee (2017-18)

Edward J. Bloustein School

- Associate Dean of Academic Programs (January 2023 – present)
- Program Director, Public Policy Program (January 2022 – present)
- Chair, Bloustein Teaching Evaluation and Mentoring (TEAM) Committee (September 2017-present)
- Chair, Public Policy Search Committee (2022); Committee member (2021)
- Health Administration Faculty Search Committee member (2020-21)
- Strategic Marketing Committee (2019-2020)
- Chair, Bloustein Faculty Council (June 2016 – 2020)
- Chair, Bloustein Teaching and Advising Committee (November 2016 – September 2017)

Harvard University

- Quincy House, Harvard University, *Resident Tutor & Librarian* (1989-98).
- Organizational Behavior Ph.D. Program, *Student Representative* (1994-95).
- Harvard Business School Women's Student Association, *President* (1989-1990).
- Harvard Business School Public and Non-Profit Management Club, *Director* (1989-1990).

Nonprofit Boards of Directors

- New Jersey Policy Perspective, *Board Member* (2020-present)
- Save Our Schools NJ Community Organizing, *Board Chair* (2012- 21; 2022-present); Treasurer (2021)
- Elijah's Promise, *Advisory Board Member* (2015-17)
- Newark Mayor Ras Baraka's education transition task force, *Member* (2014)
- New Jersey Community Capital, *Board Chair* (2009-11). *Board Member* (2005-11)
- Advisory Committee, Poverty Research Institute, Legal Services of NJ, *Board Member* (2006-10).
- Policy Committee, National Social Enterprise Alliance, *Member* (2004-07).
- Communitas, Bremerton, WA. *Chair of the Board* (2001-05), *Board Member* (1999-2005).
- Harvard-MIT Cooperative Society, Cambridge, MA. *Board Member* (1982-84, 1989-90).
- Park Hudson Tenants Cooperative, North Bergen, NJ. *Treasurer of the Board* (1987-88).

GOVERNMENT AND FOUNDATION EXPERIENCE

- Urban Institute. Advised Institute on national evaluation of the New Markets Tax Credit program of the Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) Fund, U.S. Department of the Treasury (August 2006 – 2013).
- Urban Institute. Advised Institute on study of Small Business Administration's Small Business Investment Company (SBIC) program (August 2005 – December 2006).
- John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. Advised foundation on state of the field of community development finance (August 2005 – April 2006).
- United States Small Business Administration (SBA). Advised the SBA on all aspects of the design, legislative passage, and implementation of the New Markets Venture Capital program (April 1999 – January 2001).
- Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) Fund, U.S. Department of the Treasury. Review and evaluate applications of organizations applying for federal funding under the CDFI and New Markets Tax Credit programs (June 1999 – November 2003).
- New Jersey Redevelopment Authority. Advised the Authority on the design and implementation of the New Jersey Urban Equity Fund (April 2001 – August 2001).
- Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC). Advised the Commission's Entrepreneurship Initiative on ways to increase access to equity capital in Appalachia (December 1998 – January 2002).
- Oversees Private Investment Corporation (OPIC). Advised OPIC on ways to evaluate the unmet demand for equity capital in its target countries (February 2002 – May 2002).

FOR-PROFIT EXPERIENCE

- McKinsey & Company, *Associate*. Evaluated strategic partnership options for a major pharmaceutical company. (Summer 1989).
- Eastman Kodak Company, *Associate Product Manager*. Managed all aspects of marketing \$135 million (Lysol Spray) and \$38 million (Lysol Deodorizing Cleaner) household cleaner businesses (1985-1988).
- Procter & Gamble Company, *Brand Assistant*. Member of team responsible for introduction of Lilt Shampoo and Conditioners and marketing of Lilt Home Permanent. (1984-1985).